

THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

ASSIMILATION.

IN the moral world—that is, within that sphere of agency in which the will of man is sought to be governed, it is ordinarily held a matter of some importance, that there should be a close and visible relationship between means and end. When, in the common affairs of life, mind communicates to mind, with a view to impression, or heart to heart, with a view to union, the medium of communication employed is, almost invariably, that most in unison with the sentiment to be conveyed. Language, tone, countenance, gesture, all assimilate to the speaker's intent. We woo in soft and tender accents—we command with a voice of authority. If we would touch compassion, our discourse is plaintive and our tones tremulous—if we would unseal the springs of mirth, there is light in our eyes, and smiles playing about our lips, and humour looking forth archly from every feature. We talk of the dead in whispers—for these seem best to befit the solemn mysteries of the invisible world. And when we would inspire the living, rouse their spirit and animate them to heroic deeds, we lift up our voice like a trumpet, and with glowing energy of manner, pour out in unbroken torrents the full tide of thought and feeling.

This assimilation of means to end will, unless disturbed by external influences, mark every sincere effort, upon a larger scale, to sway the will of men. The spirit which prompts any such movement will govern it—and by a natural, a powerful, an unfailing law will modify to its own wants, tendencies, and objects, the organisation which it creates and sustains. Truth goes not forth, in individual intercourse, from one heart to another, through a well adapted medium, more certainly than, in larger spheres of agency, she brings her powers to bear upon society by means of institutions which thoroughly harmonise with herself. Let her alone, in the latter case, as well as in the former, and on the large scale, equally as on a small one, her tone and gestures—the outward embodiment of her inner thoughts—the framework of her institutions, will be in unison with the burden of her message. If there be not this visible correspondence between the means and the end—if the one are harsh whilst the other is genial; if intolerance, severity, violence, rapacity, characterise the machinery by which love seeks to put itself in contact with the human will—then may we be certain that the medium of communication is not of love's choosing—that it has been forced upon her by extraneous influence—and that a power has been somewhere at work to frame for her a body, between which and herself there is neither sympathy nor union; which she cannot vitalise with her presence, nor imbue with her spirit, nor shape to her ultimate designs.

It is one of the most valuable, one of the most beautiful features of the voluntary principle, that it leaves Christianity at liberty to modify its own institutions, to frame them to its own spirit—in a word, to assimilate them to itself. The power of truth is its sole resource—if this fails, all must fail. Religion, dependent upon the voluntary principle, is driven to seek out the likeliest means for gaining the ear, and securing the good-will of those to whom she addresses herself. Ofttimes, indeed, men, actuated by the purest motives, but misled by a very partial acquaintance with the philosophy of Christianity, may mistake in this matter, and voluntary institutions themselves may, occasionally, but ill comport with the objects for which they are framed. But their failure in the main point will soon prove their worthlessness, and insure their discontinuance. Gradually, they must harmonise with the great and obvious ends of revelation, or drop into decay. Something of the gentleness, the meekness, the persuasiveness, the activity, the spirituality, and the expansive benevolence of Christian truth, they must exhibit. The world else would not uphold them; for there is nothing which the world abhors more than imposture—nothing it is more sharp-sighted to discern than a discrepancy between the means employed and the end professed. By a necessity of its nature, therefore, the voluntary principle must adapt its means and institutions to the main objects of religion.

It is impossible to keep out of view the contrast to this. Call in the aid of the state, and instantly, as if by magic, every step taken for the promotion of religion must be athwart its own precepts—every effort made must be contradictory of its spirit—and the warmer the zeal, the more energetic the activity, the more consistent the proceedings of the compulsory system—the more thoroughly must it misrepresent Christianity, and the more repulsive must it render its claims. It supersedes at once the spontaneous action of gratitude to the Head of the Church. It introduces the spirit of favouritism. It creates a contest for ascendancy. It poisons the springs of charity. It threatens those whose business it is to persuade. It backs its claims by violence. It sets wide open the door to fraud and priestcraft. And all this it does to further devotion, brotherly love, humility, forbearance, gentleness, truth. It woos in tones of dissonance. It labours to persuade with looks of

thunder. By trusting nothing to religion, it aims to inspire faith. By rigour, it would train men to meekness. Its institutions are necessarily sectarian, exclusive, intolerant, vindictive—altogether out of joint with their avowed object. They pass on to their ostensible design over the mangled remains of the very precepts they are employed to enforce; and trample under foot the spirit they were commissioned, not only to obey, but to bear on to universal triumph.

Means thus heterogeneous, thus discordant, thus suicidal, the voluntary principle could not long support. Religion left to work out religious ends by means of its own institutions, always has chosen, always must choose, means more in accordance than these with its own spirit and purpose. Give it but fair play—let it but produce its own external organisation—set it at liberty to choose its own medium of communication with the world—cast it upon its own instincts, its native sagacity, its compassionate benevolence, its noble spirituality—and it will fashion for itself in due time a system of institutional mechanism in exquisite keeping with its mission here on earth—a system which shall elicit and exercise all the powers of an enlarged philanthropy; within which charity may dwell at ease; which, gentle as the dew, shall be equally efficacious; and which, like the rose-bud in our gardens, shall unfold the truth which it was created to suggest and to illustrate, in delicate beauty and attractive grace. Christianity would speedily learn the accents which most powerfully move the human heart—would embody itself in institutions which would give the fullest play to all its impulses—would leave what is worthless to wither, and expand into fulness and vigour whatever is congenious with itself. Its external features would body forth its own loveliness of spirit.

THE STATE CHURCH THE ONLY EDUCATOR.

CONJOINTLY with its puerile attacks upon the principles of complete suffrage, the *Times* has put forth, in a series of articles against Dr Kay Shuttleworth and the Educational council, the claims of the state church to superintend the education of the people. We do not feel ourselves in any way bound to defend Dr Kay Shuttleworth, nor to enter into the relative merits of the analytical and synthetical system of instruction—the worthy doctor adopting the latter, and the *Times* the former; but we do feel bound to expose every symptom we encounter of the insufferable insolence of the established hierarchy. When, some months ago, the editorial staff of the *Times* was thoroughly changed, the columns of that journal were opened to the lucubrations of a youthful and ardent Puseyite. Puseyism since then has found frequent countenance from the leading journal in Europe. Hence sprang the attacks upon poor Sir Robert Peel's speech at the Tamworth Reading room; a speech in which Peel made some sensible but rather stale remarks upon the desirableness of excluding theological rancour from literary institutions, and with which, for that very reason, the *Times* quarreled. The Council of Education and its Secretary are now subjected to the unfriendly commentaries of this journal, simply because they have imperfectly (very imperfectly we might say, with strict fidelity to truth) acted in the spirit of religious liberty. Across the minds of Lord Wharncliffe and some other notabilities seem to have flitted vague and dim notions of the duty of an English minister, in the nineteenth century, to recognise the equality of all sects and creeds in the eyes of the government. The more niggardly this recognition, the more intolerant the character of those who oppose it. And in the hostility of the *Times* we have an unadulterated sample of the intolerant character of our state church. Not content with the enormous privileges she now exclusively possesses, she cannot restrain the avarice which makes her grasp at more. In the thousand parishes of England, she has established a local tyranny which is felt in the degraded condition of all directly under her control. And she has the effrontery to demand, in addition to her ecclesiastical dominancy, that the secular education of the people should be handed over to her superintending jurisdiction. The knowledge we have of her efforts in this direction hitherto, would make us protest against so arrogant a claim, even if the principle upon which it is based were not totally subversive of all freedom of thought or action. Not a single recipient of the educational bounty of the church but is degraded in the very act of receiving. She regards the children of the poor as thenobility regard their menials, and clothes them accordingly in a hireling livery. And thus these unfortunates are imbued from their earliest infancy with that servility which fits them to become the tools of knavish rulers, lay or clerical. Such is the outward form of church education—its internal arrangements are of the same tendency. A little reading, less writing, plenty of catechism—these are the staple ingredients, these are the evidences of church capacity to instruct the future citizens of a free and civilised country. It is well that the public, especially the dissenting public, should know that the church does insist upon this as a right—and she is in

earnest. We are no alarmists, but we yet believe that in the actual position, and in the monstrous assumptions of the church, there is serious cause for apprehension. It is not beyond probability that the next session of parliament may witness a large addition to the revenues of the church, or at least a ministerial proposal to that effect. That a scheme so obviously violating the first principles of religious freedom, should have entered the brain of a fanatic, much less have been hinted at by a prime minister, is strong proof of the extent of ecclesiastical encroachments. And we may rely that unless we offer a sturdy resistance, we shall yet have to endure more insult and more wrong from that hierarchy, whose present existence is the daily record of insult and injustice.

ECCLESIASTICAL CHARGES PAID OUT OF THE PUBLIC TAXES.

FROM Parliamentary Papers, No. 310, of the session, 1842:—

Hall for General Assembly of church of Scotland	5,000	0	0
Ecclesiastical establishment in the West Indies	20,300	0	0
Clergy, North America	15,024	0	0
Non-conforming seceding ministers, Ireland	34,284	0	0
Augmentation of stipends to clergy, Scotland	16,782	0	0
Commissioners for inquiring into tithes	48,604	0	0
Ecclesiastical commission	3,572	0	0
Protestant dissenting ministers, poor refugee French clergy and laity, and poor of St Martin's-in-the-Field.	3,494	0	0
Roman catholic college	8,928	0	0
	£155,988	0	0

In this statement the amount paid out of public monies to chaplains, whose salaries are charged as part of the expense of particular departments, as the civil list, the army, and navy, is not included; nor are the sums paid to chaplains of prisons, union workhouses, and the like. The whole would, no doubt, make up a total annual charge of A QUARTER OF A MILLION.

On Thursday last a numerous public meeting of the rate payers of the parish of St George, Southwark, was held in the vestry of the church for the purpose of electing overseers and other officers for the ensuing year, for making a church rate, and, in compliance with a requisition to the churchwardens, to "consider the propriety of petitioning the legislature, or her Majesty the Queen, for the future abolition of all compulsory church rates." The Rev. John Horton, rector, in the chair. After the election of overseers, it was moved by Mr Griffiths, and seconded by Mr Moser, that a church rate of 3d. in the pound, for the sum of £1,075, be levied. A noisy discussion then ensued, in the midst of which it was moved that an adjournment into the church take place; which was carried. The reading of the various items of church expenditure, particularly one item of a charge of £3 10s. for ringing the church bells on the occasion of the christening of the Prince of Wales, elicited strong and general expressions of indignation, and it was evident that a very large body of the meeting were decidedly hostile to the rate. After a long discussion, in which many speakers took part, an amendment for a rate of two-pence was moved by Mr Hearn; and when the chairman put it to a show of hands, the numbers for the original rate of 3d. were 43, and for the amendment, 28. The meeting then proceeded to consider the propriety of petitioning for the abolition of all compulsory church rates. Mr John Day read the first resolution, and moved that the imposition of church rates for the compulsory support of any particular faith was unjust. After a very lengthened discussion, the proceedings were abruptly brought to a close, by the Chairman putting the question; when there appeared for the motion, 27; against it, 26; upon which the Rev. Chairman held up his own hand, and said the numbers were even, and instantly vacated the chair, declaring the meeting dissolved.

On the same day a meeting of the parishioners of St Mary, Lambeth, was held at the vestry hall, facing Lambeth palace, to nominate overseers to audit the late and present churchwardens' accounts, and to appropriate the balance of the proceeds of the Pedlar's-acre estate in aid of the church rate. The Rev. Dr D'Oyley having been called to the chair, Mr Williamson brought up the report in reference to the Pedlar's-acre estate, and moved "that the balance of £497, being rent and profit of the Pedlar's-acre estate in the hands of the treasurer of the said estate, be paid over to the churchwardens, to be applied in aid of the church rate made on the 23rd December, 1836." Mr Ball having seconded the motion, the Rev. Chairman remarked that the present churchwardens were anxious not to press another rate, for which reason it was proposed to pay the balance in aid of the church rate last made. It was their desire to avoid the imposition of any rate for the church. After a desultory discussion, the resolution moved by Mr Williamson was carried, there being but few dissentients.

On Wednesday last the adjourned vestry of the parish of St Mary Somerset, alluded to in our last, was held at the church; Mr Fitch in the chair. The churchwarden having made a claim for £215 for arrears, it was resolved, "That this vestry were determined not to pay the demand for any expense incurred for maintenance of the church previous to the present year; and that a committee be appointed to represent the same to the churchwardens of St Mary Somerset. The churchwarden then said the next matter for consideration was, how they were to pay the expenses of the current year, amounting in the whole to £54. The sum of £24 was due to Mr Simmonds, who had disbursed the amount whilst in office. Mr Simmonds said he wished to meet the expenses by a voluntary rate, and therefore proposed, "That a voluntary subscription be made for defraying the expense of the church rate, not allowed out of the poor rates), this vestry being of opinion that all church rates are unjust in principle and injurious to the Christian religion." The Chairman observed that they could not leave the sum required to chance. The money, he was almost certain, could not be obtained by the voluntary principle. He should, therefore, move that a rate of one shilling in the pound be made, for payment of the church expenses. Mr Simmonds then moved that his proposition, for raising the money by voluntary subscription, be submitted as an amendment. It did not appear that any one would

second the amendment, and it was, therefore, rejected. The amount of the rate having occasioned some disapprobation, the Chairman reduced it to a ninepenny rate, which was agreed to, and the vestry separated.

The anti-church-rate party in the parish of St Botolph, Bishopsgate, seems to be defunct. A meeting was called for ten o'clock, on Thursday morning, for the purpose of making a church rate for the ensuing quarter, and the Rev. Dr Russell, the rector, had to wait some minutes before a sufficient number of persons had assembled to constitute a vestry. A 4d. rate for the quarter was proposed and agreed to, and the whole business of the vestry terminated in a few minutes. —Times.

THE TYRANT MONOPOLY.

(Reprinted from the "Nonconformist" of May 25th, 1842.)

"ONE of the most specious and delusive objections put forth against the plan of reform adopted by Mr Joseph Sturge and his followers is, that in practice it would not be found to secure the object at which it professedly aims—the extinction of class legislation. We should be handed over, it is urged, merely from one form of oppression to another and a worse one. Rescued from the tyranny of a relentless oligarchy, we should be the victims of the still more relentless tyranny of the multitude. The labouring classes outnumber the rest of the community, and to give them an equal franchise with all others would be, in fact, to invest them with supreme power. We should be at the mercy of numbers. Great questions of state policy would be decided by blind votes rather than by intelligence and patriotism. The monopoly of legislation would not be broken up, but transferred. The working men, possessed of by far the greatest share of political power, would use it as do the landlords, for selfish purposes. Every act of parliament would be framed to the unfair advantage of labour over property; and despotism the most fearful, wielded too by irresponsible hands, would shiver in pieces all the staple interests of the country.

"We beg our readers, in the first place, to mark the immense weight given to the opinion now under discussion by the simple process of personifying numbers. By this means men's imaginations are prompted to give to the millions of working men, not only identity of interest, but also unity of purpose. With ease we are able, by the aid of this figure, to regard them as cut off from all connexion with the remainder of society—as under the government of but one head, and moved by the yearnings of but one heart. Those innumerable ties which interlace all classes of the community—that fibrous system of sympathies which ramifies throughout the whole extent of the body politic—the imperceptible gradation of classes, and the impossibility of distinguishing where the one begins and the other ends—all this is completely got rid of by a pure act of fancy. The supposition excludes from sight the immense diversity of talents, tendencies, tastes, pursuits, hopes, fears, and joys, which exists among the working men, equally as among tradesmen, manufacturers, or nobles. Only with a view to distinct thought and concise expression, can we speak of the middle and the labouring classes as separate and dissociated bodies. Try the experiment in another form. Imagine a proposition to invest tradesmen with the franchise. You have only then, by a slight effort of imagination, to personify the whole body, and instantly the notion takes possession of your mind, that a monopoly of legislation would be conferred upon this class. But do tradesmen, because they are tradesmen, think alike even on questions affecting their own interests. Is there no diversity of opinion among them? Are they, because connected with this class, subject precisely to the same character of influences? Do we find amongst them a combination to outvote all other sections of the enfranchised community? Will any man in his senses expect that, be the political question what it may which is submitted to them for decision, all of them will say, 'Aye' together, or give their 'No' in unbroken unison? The thing is utterly absurd—a mere idealism, unsupported by anything which this world has yet witnessed; and if, in the case of a smaller body, the maintenance of this separate identity be impossible, how much more so in the case of the millions?

"We foresee that existing facts will be set off against our philosophy. The two bodies, it may be said, are already distinct; and if no combination unites the middle classes, so much at least cannot be said of the working men. This is true—but it serves rather to illustrate than to disprove our case. It will be seen, by close examination, that where equal political rights are shared, there is no bond sufficiently strong to keep a whole class, as a class, in a state of union. They only can effectually combine, and act, and speak, and vote, as one man, who by an artificial line, drawn by the legislature of the country, are cut off from the privileges of society. A common degradation gives to them a community of interests, and their one aim being to obtain their equitable share of that political power from which they are now excluded, they are necessarily held together by a singleness of purpose, which under other circumstances could never be fully realised. Not because they are labouring men do they now act in unison, but because they are unrepresented men. One grievance affects them all alike, and affects them only in their class capacity. They have not separated themselves from the state, but the state has separated them. Ask their judgment of their own condition, and the response will be singularly harmonious. Question them respecting any other political topic, and the same diversity of judgment will be displayed by the labouring classes as may be found in every other section. Were these men admitted within the pale of the constitution, the bond which now unites them would be snapped asunder. On every great question affecting the interests of the country, they would be found individually accessible by the same reasoning, swayed by the same influences, governed by the same general laws of thought, and speech, and action, as affect the minds and decide the conduct of other men. If there be unity amongst them now, it is unity produced by the hard frost of political exclusion. Put an end to that exclusion, and there will necessarily be found amongst the masses as much individuality of character and of mind as can be met with elsewhere.

"It may safely be laid down as an axiom in politics, that nothing but the fire of injustice can sufficiently fuse the minds of a whole class, as to make them capable of running into one mould of opinion; and that injustice must be palpable, well defined, easily understood, strongly felt, and directed specially against the class whom it serves to unite. Community of privileges never has made, and never can make one, any large and distinct body of individuals. Community of suffering alone can do it. History has never yet recorded a single instance of a majority of the people agreeing for any length of time in political feeling, in which that feeling was not produced by the external pressure of tyranny. It seems to be a law in Providence that numbers can never act together, except against injustice. The union of masses to do wrong would seem to be but the effort of society to throw out some vicious humour affecting the body politic. It is a rash. It suddenly appears, and is soon gone. A combination amongst the working classes legislatively to work out the ruin of those possessed of property would be impossible. Nothing but the most ruthless tyranny could avail to bring about the unanimity of purpose which such injustice would require. Hot passion may sometimes hurry on a multitude into a hasty insurrection against the classes above them—but a cool, deliberate, persevering, legislative attempt by a majority of a nation to inflict injury upon others, is as



contradictory of human nature as it is libelous of the class respecting whom it is surmised.

"Nor can we abstain from repeating here what we have before urged—that, in this world of ours, intelligence, integrity, but especially property, will always exert a legitimate influence upon every class which is not placed without their range by political degradation. Put all men upon the same level in respect to constitutional right; and mind, wealth, station, will wield an ampler power over the great mass of our countrymen than it is possible for them to do now. They may always lead, although they cannot always drive. Men are men, wherever you find them. Parched up with an inward sense of wrong, they become comparatively indifferent to every show of kindness which does not go the length of relieving them from that wrong. But let them be restored to self-respect, and kindness will touch the cord of their affections whether they be rich or poor. Down through innumerable channels, thought and feeling would flow from the higher places of society, and, unchecked, would gradually and insensibly diffuse themselves over the whole surface. Class distinctions would speedily be obliterated. The lines which separate one large body of men from another are artificial, not natural. Diversity of sentiment would of course continue, but that diversity would no longer run parallel with the limits of caste. The tyrant monopoly is an illusion. The franchise in the hands of the working men, were their numbers double what they are, would be no more a supremacy of power than the franchise in the hands of ten-pound householders. Were it possible for them to agree in voting one way, doubtless they would outnumber the rest of the community. They have now the monopoly, if so it may be termed, of physical force; and were they to combine for the overthrow of property, who could resist them? It is one thing to possess the elements of power; it is another, and a far different one, to be able to bring them unitedly to bear upon any given point. In the case of physical force the attempt would be hopeless, unless brought about by a sudden, simultaneous, and irresistible excitement. In the case of legislation it would be still more futile. For the combined determination of millions to do wrong, having to work itself out through the medium of electoral machinery, could not sustain itself a sufficient length of time to set at defiance all the counter influences which would be antagonistic to it."

THE COMPLETE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

The council of the National Complete Suffrage Union held their weekly meeting at the office of the Union, 364, Waterloo street, Birmingham, on Monday last, the Vice-president in the chair. The secretary read a great number of letters, showing the rapid progress the cause is making in different parts of the country; owing to the length of our report of the Edinburgh banquet, we have no room for extracts. The following list must suffice:—

From Mr C. Frankland, Milton, Yorkshire, requesting information necessary to the formation of a Complete Suffrage association; from South Shields, enclosing a remittance for twenty cards; from Dartmouth, announcing the formation of an association; from Leeds, requesting a quantity of cards to be immediately forwarded; from Lynn, with names and subscriptions of persons desirous of becoming members of the Union; from Mr George Goodwin, Ipswich, requesting 200 more half-yearly cards; from Robert Dias, East Wemyss, requesting fifty cards to be immediately forwarded, and enclosing a remittance; from Edward Story, Maldon, enclosing £1 for annual tickets, and requesting more cards to be forwarded; from Joseph Johnson, Bristol, with a remittance for cards previously sent. Letters were also read from James Harris, Clapham, Surrey; J. B. Smith, Leamington; the *Planet* office, London; J. W. Clarke, Ledbury; Isaac Rowntree, Bradford; H. Martin, Chatham; and C. Westerton, Knightsbridge.

THE EDINBURGH BANQUET.

A social meeting of the members and friends of the Edinburgh Complete Suffrage Union was held on Thursday night, in the Waterloo rooms, in honour of Mr Sharman Crawford, M.P., and the other members of parliament, who supported his motion for complete suffrage in the last session. John Dunlop, Esq., of Brockloch, president of the association, was in the chair; and was supported on the right and left by Sharman Crawford, and Joseph Sturge, Esqrs.; Mr Collins; Mr Vincent; Mr Beggs of Nottingham; Provost Henderson, and Rev. Mr Brewster, of Paisley; Messrs Reid and Pattison of Glasgow; Rev. Dr Ritchie; Rev. Mr Harris; William Tait, Esq.; John Johnson, Esq.; James Aytoun, Esq.; Patrick Millar, Esq., of Dalswinton; Thomas Russell, Esq.; Thomas Ireland, Esq.; Edward Cruikshank, Esq.; Andrew Falconer, Esq.; James Durham, Esq.; John Howison, Esq.; John Durham, Esq., Dundee; George Rough, Esq., Dundee; John Gray, Esq.; James Inglis, Esq., Dunfermline; Archibald Wilson, Esq.; J. H. Stott, Esq.; Robert Blyth, Esq.; Robert Neil, Esq.; Alexander Ireland, Esq.; Rev. James Robertson; Charles Crawford, Esq. Ireland; J. C. Crawford, Esq., Ireland; Arthur Albright, Esq., Birmingham; &c., &c. The room was well filled, and there were several ladies present.

Out of the considerable number of letters received from gentlemen, apologising for their absence, the following were read by the Chairman:—

"Sirs—I am very sorry that other engagements will prevent my having the pleasure of attending your banquet on the 29th September. My cordial sympathies will, however, be with you. No man of unprejudiced judgment, who has occupied a seat in the house of Commons during the present session, can, I think, entertain a moment's doubt about the necessity of a thorough reform in our representative system; and few, I should hope, of the electors of the kingdom, will henceforth desire to retain a share of the responsibility of a system of misgovernment, by which the great mass of the community are, under the mocking designation of *free men*, suffering miseries greater than any that I have witnessed amongst the slaves of America. Assuring you of my earnest disposition to co-operate with your honest and inflexible quest in his parliamentary efforts, I am, sirs, your most obedient servant,
"London, 13th August, 1842. RICHARD COBDEN."

"GENTLEMEN—I deeply regret I am unable to accept the invitation, with which, as one of the members of parliament who voted with Mr Sharman Crawford in support of the admirable petition of the Birmingham conference, I have been honoured, through you, from the committee of the Edinburgh Complete Suffrage Union, to a banquet, to be held in Edinburgh, on the 29th of next month. I have engagements for that period which will deprive me of the great pleasure of attending, but I beg to assure you and the gentlemen of the Edinburgh committee, that it will be my anxious study to attend and vote on all future occasions, when the principles asserted at the Birmingham conference shall be urged upon the consideration of the legislature.
"Returning you my sincere thanks for the manner in which you have conveyed this invitation, I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your faithful servant,
"Dublin, August 13, 1842. JOHN O'CONNELL."

"SIR—Your letter of the 15th, I have yesterday received. In my former letter I left open the chance of being able to accept of the invitation of the committee; and am sorry that it will be out of my power to attend your meeting on the 29th instant.
"Every hour that passes renders the success of the complete suffrage movement more and more necessary, and I hope the middle classes will see that it is a question that affects their interests as much as those of the unrepresented."

"The address of the 12th of September from Birmingham is good, but I think the one of the 20th of August should be printed also, and circulated widely with the other."

"The time must soon come when the electors will be obliged to take up the question, and if they should do so, and send to the house of Commons only those who will support the extension of the suffrage, there would be a sufficient majority from cities and boroughs, easily to carry the reform; although the representatives of every county in England, Scotland, and Ireland, with those of the universities added to them, were, as they will be, against the reform."

"I wish every success in the movement, to which I am prepared to give all possible assistance, and remain your obedient servant,
"Ryde, 19th September, 1842. (Signed) JOSEPH HUME."

"P.S.—I should be pleased to hear that there were in each of the five Montrose district burghs, complete suffrage associations."

"P.S.—If you publish any address at any time, as the Birmingham Complete Suffrage Union has done, and which the Edinburgh Complete Suffrage Union ought to do, please to send me a copy, and be particular to send me a newspaper containing the proceedings of the 29th instant, and oblige
J. H."

The CHAIRMAN then proceeded to introduce to their notice the subject of the evening, and to express the sentiments of honour and respect which were entertained by them for Mr Sharman Crawford, and those members of parliament who had voted with him, when he brought before the House of Commons the question of complete suffrage. If one might judge of the manner in which this subject had been received, especially, he regretted to say, by the representatives for this city, it would appear that they considered the suffrage to be some noxious weed introduced by enemies, while men slept, into the fair field of the British constitution. But it was not so—it was a plant of true British growth; and as far back as the close of the American war it was supported by such men as the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Effingham, Lord Kinnaird, &c. That the plans and schemes of reform at that time were short-lived, was to be imputed, not to the no-popery riots of Lord George Gordon, nor to the influence of the crown; but to that power which clogged the wheels of every government—the influence of the aristocracy. Of that influence he would say, in the language of Dunning's celebrated declaration with regard to another branch of the constitution—that it had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished. After referring to the great advance made by society in the present day, as compared with the state of society fifty years ago, he said, Yet though our fair fields are now like one continuous garden—though the whole world is clothed with the beautiful fabrics of our looms—though our adventurers have planted the British standard even upon the magnetic pole, and though our armies and our navies have seized upon the wealth "of Ormus and of Ind," yet Britain is not rich, and England is not happy. Thousands of our people do not know where to find their bread; and under these irritating circumstances, they see wealth overflowing its channels, and yet never reaching their pallid lips—they see gigantic vicissitudes, various as the atmosphere's currency, fitful as the breeze, bringing ruin upon various localities—they see the very spirit of liberty itself, which brings blessings in other cases, acting against them, and arming the middle classes with weapons in support of class legislation. Under these circumstances I say that the people have a right to meet and to consult together, and to deliberate upon a remedy for these various evils. They have sought this not in an improper and injudicious manner, they have asked for no partial expedients, they have asked for no mockery of an inquiry by the House of Commons, they have sought to be heard not only at the bar but on the floor of the house of Commons, and for real representatives of the people, not brought together by bribery and corruption, but assembled, in the words of Lord John Russell, "to deliberate on their wants, to consider their grievances, and to consult for their good." So to our honourable guest, who endeavoured in his place in parliament, to bring forward the grievances of the people, and to bring forward the principle of the suffrage, our most cordial thanks are due. That individual can rejoice, not only in the beautiful speculations of government, which are to be found enshrined in the writings of our great philosophers, but he can rejoice in seeing these principles more familiar to our mechanics and artisans, who are now anxiously asking, When are the days of our pupillage to cease—when shall we be treated as freemen? To those individuals who supported our respected friend we tender also our best acknowledgments, and though many cannot go all the length which he has proposed, or subscribe to all the details of the resolution which he brought forward, we thank them for concurring in the truly English notion, that when principles are approved of by the great masses of the people, it is not the time to refuse to hear or consider them, or to dismiss the subject without inquiry. Allow me now to propose the sentiment:—

"Honour to Mr Sharman Crawford, and to those other members of the House of Commons who supported the resolution he brought forward in last session of parliament, for complete suffrage."

Mr CRAWFORD then rose, and was greeted with renewed expressions of approbation. On the cheers subsiding, Mr Crawford said: I rise to respond to the sentiment which you have just offered to the meeting; and to express my acknowledgments for the kind and enthusiastic manner in which that sentiment has been received. I deeply regret that there are not a greater number of the honourable members present, in honour of whom this demonstration is intended. They would have been capable of expressing their own thanks in a manner which I cannot pretend to; for I find it a sufficiently hard duty to return thanks for myself. Indeed I should lose time most fruitlessly if I attempted to express the feelings which warm my breast at the reception I have met with in the capital of Scotland. It is impossible for me to use terms which would express my feelings. I shall therefore not attempt it; but leave the company to believe that my heart feels towards them as they seem to feel towards me and the honourable friends for whom this demonstration was intended equally with myself. I shall therefore leave this part of the subject and proceed to another. This meeting, I conceive, is not intended for the sole purpose of expressing your acknowledgments to me, and to those members who voted with me; but also to exhibit in this city those feelings which will tend to produce that amount of moral power over the empire, by which alone those great objects we have in view can be carried. What we want is simply this—we want justice for the whole people. We want to do away with class voters, with class legislators, and with class legislation. These are the great evils under which the people of this country suffer—these are the evils which we desire to remove. It is necessary, when we meet on occasions of this kind, that we should so adapt our addresses that those who may read what passes here may see that we are not calling with vain clamour for a

thing we don't understand, or which we don't comprehend the result of. With this view, then, I shall have a few words to say to you. You need not expect that I have powers to amuse you by any efforts of eloquence; I will not attempt that. You must be content with a few hints and arguments from a plain man. The theory of our constitution is, that the three estates in which the powers of the constitution are vested, should work for the common good by the balance of power, by each of the estates counteracting what might lead to evil in the other. This is the theory of the constitution; but when you come to the practice, where is it? The constitution is said to consist of three estates—the crown, the lords, and the people. Where is the estate of the people? Is there a house where the voice of the people can be heard? Is there a house which represents the people? [No]. Well, then, what has become of the constitution now? The landed and the monied aristocracy have swamped the other orders. The people's voice is not heard; and the constitution has degenerated into an oligarchical power, which has swamped both the crown and the people. Our object, then, is to restore the practice of the constitution to its theory. We desire the stability of the throne by making the throne conducive to the public good; we desire to give stability to the aristocracy by preventing them from injuring the people; for neither the crown nor the aristocracy can be secure unless their power can be made consistent with the great interests of the people. This is the way to secure the rights of the crown and the aristocracy, and there is no other way. We are loyal subjects. The late demonstration in this city and throughout Scotland, proves the ardency of the public feelings of loyalty towards our sovereign. No one can impeach our loyalty; and the best way of showing our loyalty is by doing all in our power to render the crown useful to the people, and thereby place it on the safest foundation it is possible to place it. We wish to effect this by putting the people in their proper position, and by giving them their just rights—believing that the best way of supporting the crown is by basing it upon the interests and affections of the people. For this purpose what we demand is universal representation, by which I mean that every class shall be duly and fairly represented in the House of Commons—that there shall be no exclusion. That is what we want. We want what I would call a universality of suffrage—that the working classes shall have due weight in the representative body, and due power of protecting their industry. This is the grand principle we are contending for. We do not want or require that the suffrage shall be given to vagrants, who travel about from place to place, and who would vote in different quarters of the country, and thereby swamp true liberal principles. We want to give it to the whole industrious population who reside in their respective districts. This is what we want, and what we mean by universal suffrage, and which it is absolutely essential to the interests of the people that they should have. We are opposed in this by two great parties. The one is what is generally denominated the tory party. These consistently oppose us in this, because they publicly and openly declare their hostility to giving the people power. But there is another class far more injurious to our cause. There is one class of the liberal party who set their faces most decidedly against a real extension of the suffrage to the people; and it is particularly injurious to the promotion of our cause when these persons, who have heretofore been reckoned supporters of public liberty, turn round on the people and say that the people are not to be trusted. One of the leading persons in parliament, who has exhibited a most decided, an open and avowed hostility to the extension of the franchise, is, I regret to say, the right hon. member for this city. I do not wish, in any expression I may use, to offer the slightest disrespect to that right hon. member; but on a late occasion in parliament, when the discussion of the chartist petition was brought forward by Mr Duncombe, the right hon. gentleman made a speech in which he used certain remarkable expressions—and I am taking no advantage of him in referring to them, because he stated in the most manly manner in that speech his anxiety that his constituents should know what his opinions were. I do not bring forward his sentiments here as offering any disrespect to him, but I think it highly proper that sentiments expressed from so high a quarter should be alluded to, and in some degree answered, and I have extracted some sentiments from his speech, which I shall take leave to read. [Mr Crawford here read certain extracts from Mr Macaulay's speech in the last session on the extension of the suffrage, the substance of which was that, if universal suffrage were granted, property would no longer be secure.] These were the expressions of the right hon. gentleman, which I heard certainly with great pain and deep regret. On the occasion of my motion on the suffrage the right hon. gentleman was absent; but on the occasion of Mr Duncombe's motion a few days afterwards, he appeared, and made the speech extracts from which I have now read. It pained me to hear a member of parliament, who was raised to the distinguished position he now holds in public estimation—who was raised to offices of honour and profit on the shoulders of the people—it pained me, I say, to hear a right hon. gentleman, who had rather been the idol of the people in former times, making use of such expressions with regard to the people. His apprehensions with regard to the extension of the suffrage are founded on the opinion that property would not be secure; and he sustained that opinion by a rather minute criticism of the chartist petition. I do admit that I found that petition exceedingly injudicious—that there were sentiments expressed in it of a doubtful character—but which, I am sure, were not intended in the way they were taken up. I am perfectly certain that the petitioners never intended to convey the idea that they were desirous of invading property. I ask him, then, not to condemn the people on the words of that petition, but to look to the acts of the people—to look to the conduct of the people of this realm, and try by that means whether there are any grounds upon which to assert that the people of Great Britain are hostile to the rights of property. He talks of a military despotism being likely to be raised to preserve property, if the suffrage should be granted. Would a military despotism preserve property? Would all the standing armies preserve property, if the great mass of the people were enemies to it? I ask him to look at the suffering which the people have gone through for the last year even, and see how they have behaved themselves. Have they attacked property—have they in any way injured property—have all the sufferings they have sustained tempted them for a moment to sacrifice the rights of property? Is it fair, then, is it just, that any man should stand up in the House of Commons, and especially a man who nominally supports

the rights and liberties of the people, and say that if the people were admitted to a due share in the representation, this would end in the destruction of property? I was ashamed to hear it; I was grieved to hear it. I thought it strange that any man representing any borough or county in England should stand up and make use of expressions like these. Gentlemen, there are two houses of parliament. One house consists wholly of the aristocracy, and has no delegation from the people whatever. I would ask if this is not a sufficient safe-guard for the aristocracy? What is the use of a house of lords at all unless it can protect the property of the country? If it cannot do that, it is of no use. I can perfectly conceive the use and propriety of a second house of legislature. I will admit that a popular assembly is prone to hasty legislation, and may frequently be usefully reviewed. A second house of parliament may usefully review the legislation of the first house, and give time to the public mind to reflect on the measures, and correct them if necessary. A second house may be useful for such purposes; but any further power than that I think is unnecessary. I think that the house of lords, who are not elected by the people, should possess no greater power than is necessary to retard hasty legislation. If this retardation should be a confirmation of the opinion of the public, let the other house yield to it. If not, it is not fit that the house of lords should sway the voice of the people. But I have no objection to a house of lords provided we get a house which fairly represents the people. It is actually giving permanence to the house of lords to give us a proper representation of the people. The people who know they are fairly represented in their own house will never be jealous of the power of the lords. But it has been said, on the other hand, by those who are afraid to give the people a house of their own, that if the people had the franchise they might subvert the power of the crown and the aristocracy by stopping the supplies. The house of commons have the power of stopping the supplies, but I maintain that that measure would never be resorted to, except in extreme cases—unless supported by the unanimous opinion of the public. There is such an immense mass of people interested in voting the supplies, that it is impossible they would acquiesce unless some extraordinary occasion called for it. The Commons might inquire into the supplies, they might even reduce the supplies; and it would be very well if we had a house of commons that would reduce them. It would be well if we had a house of commons that would study economy; that would not vote the public money in the extravagant manner the present House of Commons does. Now in order to obtain and secure the rights of the people, the Complete Suffrage association has been formed. The principle which this association has agreed to support, is an extension of the suffrage, so as to include residents and householders—a suffrage which shall not be limited except in the case of those who are not competent to wield it, or men who are disabled by law, or who are mentally incapable. We require also a new distribution of electoral districts, vote by ballot, annual elections, the abolition of the property qualification for members, and a reasonable payment of members for their services. These are the points which the Complete Suffrage association contend for. It is not necessary to take up your time by explaining them now, but I think it of importance to show our opponents that these are no new principles—that they were contended for many years ago by the most distinguished reformers of the time. The Westminster Reform association, in the year 1780, put forward a plan of reform embracing all the points now adopted by the Complete Suffrage association. The document is dated May 27, 1780, and signed T. Brand Hollis, chairman. After alluding to the refusal of the House of Commons to attend to the petitions of the people, the document states—"One hope still remains in the native energy of the great collective body of the people. The peaceful efforts of this mighty power, acting by committees freely chosen, are sufficient, under the providence of Heaven, to re-establish the constitution in its ancient vigour. The public state of affairs requires this exertion; the public voice at length appears disposed to bear its testimony to this important truth, viz., that the restoration of the Commons House of Parliament to freedom and independency, by the interposition of the great collective body of the nation is essentially necessary to our existence as a free people." The great principle of universal representation is put forward in the following terms:—"That all the male inhabitants of this country (aliens, minors, criminals, and insane persons, excepted) be admitted to vote at the election of representatives, subject only to the forms, provisions, and regulations specified hereafter in this report." The report recommends equal districts, each choosing one representative, and annual elections. Since that report appeared, a reform in the representation to some extent has been carried; but it has been utterly fruitless in giving the people that protection to which they are entitled. This modified measure, then, having failed in giving satisfaction to the people, we must just come back to the broader principles laid down in 1780. I have another document to produce, and it is rather a remarkable one. It is extracts of a letter addressed to Lieut. Colonel Sharman, chairman of the committee of correspondence in Belfast, by the Duke of Richmond, dated August 15, 1783. The Duke of Richmond proceeds to answer certain questions put to him by the committee. With reference to parliamentary reform he writes thus:—"I have no hesitation in saying that, from every consideration which I have been able to give to this great question, that for many years has occupied my mind, and from every day's experience to the present hour, I am more and more convinced that the restoring the right of voting universally, to every man not incapacitated by nature for want of reason, or by law for the commission of crimes, together with annual elections, is the only reform that can be effectual and permanent; and I am further convinced that it is the only reform which is practicable." He states that oppression has made the people indifferent to small changes and to party contests; "the truth is, that the people have been so often deceived, that they will now scarcely trust any set of men; and nothing but self-evident conviction that a measure tends effectually to the recovery of their rights, can, or indeed ought, to interest them in its favour. It is from the people at large that I expect any good, and I am convinced that the only way to make them feel that they are really concerned in the business, is to contend for their full, clear, and indisputable right of universal representation. But the greatest objection, in my opinion, to every narrow and contracted plan of reform, is, that it proceeds upon the same bad principle as the abuse it pretends to rectify; it is still partial and unequal—a

vast majority of the community is still left unrepresented—and its most essential concerns (life, liberty, and property) continue in the absolute disposal of those whom they do not choose, and over whom they have no control. But in the more liberal and great plan of universal representation, a clear and distinct principle at once appears that cannot lead us wrong—not expediency, but right. If it be not a maxim of our constitution that a British subject is to be governed only by laws to which he has consented by himself or his representative, we should instantly abandon the error; but, if it be the essential of freedom, founded on the eternal principles of justice and wisdom, and our inalienable birthright, we should not hesitate in asserting it. Let us then determine to act upon this broad principle of giving every man his own, and we shall immediately get rid of all the perplexities to which the narrow notions of partiality and exclusion must ever be subject." He alludes to the objection that property will lose its weight. He maintains that property and education will still have their due weight; but he states, "that the essential difference will be, that although the people may be led, they cannot then be driven." The Lieut.-colonel Sharman, to whom this letter was addressed, was my father. Now, is not the language here used just the very same as we are using at the present day? and is not this the very defence of this association for going the length they do—but which some people say is too far? After attributing the Affghan and China wars, and the continuance of the corn-laws, to the want of a full, fair, and free representation of the people, Mr Crawford proceeded to argue that the complete suffragists were not calling for reform without reason. We are suffering (he continued) from practical evils, which are plainly deducible from the want of that which we require—a full and fair representation in the Commons house of parliament; and, therefore, we want the cause of these evils removed. The next question for consideration, however, is, how this object is to be attained. I answer, by the moral power which will be produced by the strength of the combined influence of the property, the industry, and the intelligence of the country. The weight of these combined influences will carry any question that it is directed to. It is impossible it can be withstood. It is of great importance, therefore, to produce this combined effect to advance our cause. Moral power will as certainly be effective, as that mind is superior to body. Mind and intelligence, in a country such as this, must overcome every obstacle. It is impossible that any government can long go against the general opinion and mind of the country. We must, therefore, take means to get the mind of the country united on this great cause. That union can only be accomplished by argument, and not by force. You must convince the middle and intelligent classes of the community that you are right; and this you can only do by force of argument. If you attempt this by any description of force, you defeat your object; and when I speak of force, I do not allude merely to the arm and the hand, but to that force which is exhibited in obstructing public meetings. Let the public mind have full sway. The great principle of freedom is, that every man shall have a right of forming and declaring his opinion. There ought to be no restraint on public meetings. Our cause has greatly retrograded by the imprudence of some in this respect. I regret that imprudence. The endeavour to compel public opinion was highly injudicious; and I trust that those who desire to support this association, will use their best efforts to repress every movement which indicates the smallest degree of restraint on public opinion, or any attempt to force it. At the same time that I regret these indiscretions, we ought not to be too severe in blaming the people. It must be admitted they were hardly used. They were deserted by those to whom they had been accustomed to look up as leaders, and left in the hands of those who were not fit to lead them. The people were put in an unfortunate position; and we ought, therefore, to look upon them with a kindly feeling, and not condemn them too severely. Gentlemen, in last session of parliament I had the honour of being called upon by the Complete Suffrage association, to bring forward their principles in the house of Commons. I did so to the best of my judgment, and in the manner I thought most likely to promote their advancement, and I obtained a discussion which you are already aware of. Sixty-nine members voted with me on that occasion, while eleven of those who voted with Mr Duncombe a few days earlier, were absent on my motion. So that you may calculate on eighty members of the house of Commons, who are disposed to support, and substantially advance, the rights of the people. These members were not all disposed to go the whole length of my propositions, but they all voted for the consideration of the question; and I am perfectly convinced that the oftener the question is brought forward in the house, the more friends it will obtain. It appears to me, that the suffrage question is the vital question; that a real and practical extension of the suffrage is the great question we should keep in view, and if this was obtained, every other point would soon follow it. But, at the same time, I consider it right that every man who advocates the people's rights, should put forward boldly the whole principles he contends for. Mr Crawford concluded by advising moderation, perseverance, and firmness in the prosecution of this great cause; by referring to the early and continued struggles of Scotchmen for independence, and by expressing a hope that, with moral, instead of physical force, Scotland would, with equal courage and success, take the lead in the present question.

Mr CRAWFORD again rose, and gave as a sentiment, "Honour to the Chairman, and prosperity to the Edinburgh Complete Suffrage Union."

Mr DUNLOP returned thanks, and intimated that the Union already numbered among its members eight hundred registered electors of the city. He then introduced

Mr STURGE, who was received with great applause. He said—While I deeply feel the undeserved kindness with which you have received me, I feel relieved from the necessity of addressing you at great length—a task for which I am altogether inadequate—by the able speeches of my excellent friend, and of your Chairman. We have many things to animate and to encourage us in this great work. I might allude to the letters which our council have received within these few weeks, relative to the proposed meeting of the deputies. We have had very cordial letters from all classes of reformers; and from none more than those that are connected with chartist associations; their cordiality is very striking indeed; and one very particular feature is, that they repudiate in every case the resorting to physical force. I am one of those who, while I would make every allowance for the irritating circumstances under which our suffering poor are placed, would yet hold that

the anthem which sung, "Peace on earth and good-will towards men," extends to every part of the Christian dispensation. I would not, under any circumstances, take the life of a single human being—not even to save my own; and I can, therefore, be no party to any association which would in the slightest degree sanction or resort to physical force. I am satisfied that an appeal to history would show that a resort to it was as impolitic, as I believe it to be unchristian. In all such contests, whatever party is victor, the masses of the people are sure to be the sufferers. At the same time, we must not judge the people harshly, if the presence of distress induces them to make use of injudicious expressions, when they see what goes on in higher places. Two or three years ago, Sir Robert Peel charged Lord John Russell with arming one portion of the population against another; and so he did, I believe, offer arms to those of the middle classes that would have them. We also find that your talented member said, in the house of Commons, that he hoped, if the efforts of the people for universal suffrage should succeed, it would be put down by a military despotism, or something of that kind. We have also at this moment got on hand two wars against the Chinese and the Affghans. I allude to these not as in any way justifying their proceedings, for no one can condemn them more than I do; but to adduce them as a reason why the middle classes should not stand aloof from the masses when they are disposed by peaceable agitation to obtain their political rights. I hold that it is as unjust to charge great principles with the faults of those who pretend to advocate them, as it would be to charge Christianity with the murder of the Chinese and the Affghans that is now going on, or with the burnings that took place some centuries ago. I hope no one will allow the actions of individuals to lower his estimate of great principles. Among other things that I consider to be matter of encouragement, is the result of three or four elections which took place in consequence of the late shameful compromises in the house of Commons. One of these was at Southampton, where my excellent friend George Thompson polled within three or four votes of the whig candidate who was also standing for the place; and that town is one of the most aristocratic in the kingdom. Of the election at Ipswich, as Henry Vincent is present, I shall only say that the town is in the centre of an agricultural district, and that Vincent went down to assist two other candidates. But as these gentlemen were disqualified, from some proceedings at former elections, the town was in want of a candidate, and he was induced to put forward his name; and four days after he entered the town he polled 473 votes, while the highest number polled for the tory was 650. I know that a number of wealthy men in the town polled for him. There was another election expected to come on in the town of Reading, also in the midst of an agricultural district, and we had a candidate ready for it also. I remember seeing in some tory paper an alarm expressed that we should poll one-third of the constituency; but my belief is, that we should have had two-fifths of them. With regard to the Nottingham election, my friend Mr Beggs is present, otherwise I should have mentioned one or two facts. But I must say, that when the deputation came to Birmingham to ask me to stand as the complete suffrage candidate, one of the principal reasons which decided me was, the assurance that there was no hope of my return [laughter]—and that they did not expect to poll more than four or five hundred votes in my favour. I assure you, with all my wish to strengthen the hands of your honoured guest, I have no desire to go into the house of Commons, at least till there are a few more honest men to be found there. But the result of the election for that borough, which is one of the most corrupt in the kingdom, and with the disadvantage of a compromise among the leading whigs and tories to stand by and let a tory candidate in; and, being no great favourite with the innkeepers on account of my teetotal views, and while the other party paid for the half of their votes in gold, still we polled 1801 votes, while our opponents mustered 1885. These facts show that the large constituencies are going along with us—that we have only to go steadily forward, and the time is not far distant when the constituencies will return members that will do justice to the people. After referring to other encouraging symptoms, arising from various meetings he had held in different towns in England, and the number of country papers that were advocating their views—though the London press, he admitted, was still mostly in the hands of the two great parties—he referred to an article lately published in the *Nonconformist* newspaper, stating that, if 250 English boroughs would declare for the complete suffrage movement, the cause was won. These boroughs formed the half of the English representation; but it was assumed, and he thought justly, that Scotland and Ireland would go along with the movement. He then continued—I believe that if we had electoral districts now, we might carry the question of complete suffrage in the next parliament, for I believe that the majority of the town and city constituencies is already with us. This is not the time to enter into details, but I may mention that we have a plan in preparation, of an appeal from the non-electors to the electors at once to do them justice, and not again to go through the mockery of an appeal to the House of Commons; for I believe that the best way to make a man a thorough radical, is to send him for a day or two to watch the proceedings of the House of Commons. I felt for my friend when he rose to bring forward his motion last session; for the noise at the time was most disgraceful; and I assure you it requires no small degree of moral courage to stand up and speak to an assemblage of men who are determined not to hear you. I find that many members of my own denomination, as well as of other Christian professions are reluctant to come forward and take part in this movement, because they hold that their religious and civil duties are separate and distinct. I never could see any distinction between religious and civil duties. I think if those who consider that there is a distinction would fairly examine the conduct of Him, whose example they profess to follow, they would find that he attended to the temporal as well as the spiritual wants of those by whom he was surrounded; and the more they examine the matter, the more they will be convinced that wherever Christianity has been carried into legislation it has been productive of happiness and welfare of the people. It was a beautiful motto of the reformer—The greatest happiness of the greatest number; but it has ever been to my mind a mark of the divine nature of Christianity, that wherever it is brought into operation, whether with an individual or a nation, it tends to promote the happiness of all; and therefore I heartily respond to the sentiment which I now beg to propose to the meeting—"May the principles of Chris-

tianity soon find a place in our halls of legislation." [The honourable gentleman sat down amidst great cheering].

The Rev. GEORGE HARRIS spoke on the subject of "Universal Liberty the dictate of nature and of Christianity."

Mr GEORGE PATTISON, in absence of Mr George Thompson, gave "Free trade the legitimate and certain consequence of complete suffrage."

Mr Vincent rose to propose the sentiment, "The right of public meeting, and the freedom of the press." He said it was a pleasing feature of the present time that men relied upon the progress of moral force—upon the spread of intelligence for the achievement of their objects. At the present crisis, when attempts were made by the officers of government, and by policemen, and by magistrates, to put down the right of public meeting, it appeared to him that this was a fit opportunity to raise their solemn protest against this infringement of constitutional liberties, and to stand up for the legal means of bearding the aristocracy in their strong holds, and to tell them that they shall not put down the constitutional rights of the country. And it was curious to note the reasons which induced the gentlemen to attempt to suppress the right of public meeting. In his own individual case he attended a large meeting at Derby a few weeks ago, where he had the pleasure of delivering his sentiments. He was invited to attend a second meeting in the town, but a number of the magistrates, all appointed by the recreant Graham, thought it necessary to stop this meeting, to prevent, as these dogberries said, an outburst of popular feeling: and how did they do it? They directed some policemen, who were about as wise as themselves, to pull down all the bills from the walls, and even to enter the shops of sundry grocers and tallow-chandlers, and order them forthwith to remove the bills from their windows. The theatre had been engaged for the place of meeting; but the conservative magistrates cited the proprietor of the theatre before them, and told him that if the lecture was allowed to take place, he would be subjected to a penalty of £100. They did not tell him under what statute this penalty was laid, but they told him there was such a penalty; and as the man loved his family, and could not afford to lose the money, he waited upon the Complete Suffrage committee, and told them that he could not grant the place; but, he said, if you occupy it yourselves, I shall not prosecute you. Go to the door, where you will find a peg, and walk quietly in—I shall not offer to interrupt you. Accordingly, early on the night of meeting, a few went in, and while they were congratulating each other on the prospect of a good meeting, down came the police, turned out the people, locked the door, and put the key in their pocket, so that on that occasion I could not get a meeting at Derby. But mark the moral bearing of all this. The majority of the electoral body in Derby got up a solemn protest against this interference with the right of public meetings and laid it before the great body of magistrates, the great majority of whom are liberals. The mayor convened a meeting of the whole body of magistrates on the following day—the address was presented to them by the Rev. Mr Jones, when the conservative magistrates declared that they never intended to interfere with public meetings, or to suppress Mr Vincent's lectures—that they would wish to see him hold his public meeting. Thus they saw what public opinion could effect, when it was brought to bear in a continued force against any object. After some remarks on the freedom of the press, he concluded amongst much cheering, proposing the right of public meeting, and the freedom of the press.

Dr Ritchie, after a few observations, proposed "Mr Beggs and the minority of 1801, that supported Mr Sturge at Nottingham."

Mr Beggs, in replying, said his principal object in attending upon this occasion was, an intense desire to see whether his brethren in the North were one whit more satisfied with the results of class legislation, than they were in England. He rejoiced, from the tone and feeling of this meeting, that their hearts were as warm as his to effect the regeneration of the country, and destroy altogether aristocratic legislation. He found that one of their representatives had slandered the character of the people. He did not know whether to respond in the words of Dr Ritchie—"Turn him out," but this he would say, and he presumed it was the general feeling, they would try. He felt that he could refer to the subject of the representation with pride and pleasure. When Mr Sturge was invited to stand for Nottingham, no case could be more hopeless than theirs; and several of his friends at first declined to go into the thing at all, as they would only render themselves ridiculous. They did not expect to secure more than 400 or 500 votes. The town had been literally canvassed—whig and tory had rivaled each other in bribery; and Lord Ranelagh, whose sympathies were altogether with the people, told him (Mr B.) that he had spent 30,000*l.* in obtaining a seat for Nottingham. At the first election, which Walter won, 15*l.* and 18*l.* each were given for votes; and Sir John Hobhouse confessed in the house of Commons, that the only chance he and Sir George Larpent had at the next election, was to beat Walter at his own weapons, that is to say, in bribing and vitiating the constituency. So disgraceful were the scenes exhibited that many of the electors had resolved to vote no more for either party; but others thought that the better way would be to bring forward a man of independent principles who would abstain from bribery, and see what strength they could muster. We brought Mr Sturge into the field, and in spite of tory tricks, of whig desertion, and of the compromise between both to screen their shameful conduct, though there were a number of poor burgesses in the town, to whom a few pounds in their distress would have been a great object, he was proud to record the fact, that by the use only of proper and legitimate means, the power of public opinion gave Mr Sturge a minority of 1801. More than that, he could say that he never knew a man who supported Mr Sturge drunk during the whole period of the election. On the other hand, Mr Walter had paid for a great proportion of his votes in gold, to an extent which made his seat not worth a rush, and the electors were determined to prosecute the petition against his return; not that they cared a farthing for the seat, as the house was at present constituted, but because they thought it important to the ends of public justice that the country should be aware of the extent to which these debasing practices were carried. He thought this example should be followed in every constituency, and that no town would do its duty which did not try to turn out the enemies of liberty and humanity.

Mr COLLINS gave as a sentiment—"The education of the people." In taking up this subject he would confine himself chiefly to the mistaken

opinions entertained by one portion of society, as to the amount of information entertained by another portion, with reference to political rights. It was urged against the giving of these rights that the people were ignorant. Suppose he admitted the fact. What then? Did not this charge come with a bad grace from parties who, by their monopoly, had kept people ignorant; and now assigned that ignorance as a reason for keeping them in bondage and degradation. But the charge of ignorance was not true. No doubt, against a portion of the working classes, the charge might be made with some show of truth. But the working classes manifested their love for intelligence, in a way in which few others would show it. It was possible that many gentlemen might be sincere in charging the people with ignorance, but he submitted with all deference, that they had not such full opportunities of judging as he had, who had spent his life among them, and gloried in belonging to the working classes. If the working classes were to form their opinion of the higher ranks, from the appearance at their race-course or other places of folly, that would not give them a very exalted idea of their intelligence or morality; and yet it would be precisely similar to their mode of judging of the condition of the lower classes. The working classes were intelligent enough to know that Babington Macaulay's assertion of their desire to destroy property, was altogether destitute of foundation. They were intelligent enough to know that if property was not respected, there could be no remuneration for their labour. They had sufficient intelligence to know that, notwithstanding this accusation, the whole wealth of the country was placed in their hands, for their skill and ingenuity to exert themselves upon; and yet they did not destroy property, nor manifest the slightest disposition to do so. No, no! There was no country under heaven where property was so much respected as this, and he rejoiced in the fact. They were not only distinguished for their intelligence; they were also remarkable for their benevolence and compassion. He had been in the habitations of the working classes, and he had seen that if there was a larger portion of meat than ordinary on the poor man's table, a portion of it was sent to some sick neighbour; and though he knew that it might be wanted in his own family before the end of the week, still he did not hesitate to give it. He knew that if a working man became ill, his fellow-workmen would instantly club their pence, their two-pences, or their sixpences on a Saturday, in order that they might remove part of the misery from their suffering brother; and, when men manifested so much love for their fellows, was he to be told that they would interfere with the rights of property? No! It was a foul slander on the working classes. What made the slander the more painful to be borne, was the fact, that the men who charged them with interfering with the rights of property, did identically the very thing with which they charged the people. Was he to be told by Babington Macaulay or any other man, that he did not respect the rights of property? Yet the same man told him that he had no right to a voice in that assembly which taxed him as much as they pleased—which took away a portion of his earnings without so much as asking his opinion on the subject. These were the men who showed that they did not respect the sacred rights of property. (After some further observations, Mr Collins sat down amidst loud cheers.)

The Rev. PATRICK BREWSTER, gave the sentiment—"May Christian nations speedily and for ever abandon the unchristian practice of war."

Provost HENDERSON, of Paisley, gave—"Purity of election—a speedy termination to the corruptions which disgrace our existing representative system."

Mr THOMAS MORRISON, of Dunfermline, gave—"The memory of Muir, Palmer, Gerald, Margatot, Skirving, and other martyrs in the cause of liberty."

The meeting then broke up at twelve o'clock.

PONTEFRAC, YORKSHIRE.—On Friday, 23rd September, a large meeting was held at the large room, at the Star, to hear an address on complete suffrage, from Mr John Collins, of Birmingham. The meeting excited considerable interest, and was very numerous. Amongst the auditory were a few of the middle classes. Mr Collins expounded, in an able manner, and at considerable length, the principles of the Complete Suffrage union, and urged the necessity of their adoption as the best means of securing the prosperity, advancing the intelligence, and improving the morality of the people. The address was listened to with the most intense anxiety, and at the conclusion the audience expressed their delight by loud acclamation. Mr Roberts, draper, occupied the chair. There is every prospect of a Complete Suffrage union being formed here.

HARWICH.—Mr John Collins delivered two lectures upon complete suffrage in the Town hall to large audiences. The lecturer received a very kind reception. Several of the middle classes have expressed their determination to form a Complete Suffrage union.

BUCKFASTLEIGH, DEVON.—A meeting of the inhabitants took place on Thursday night, for the purpose of hearing the principles of complete suffrage explained by Mr Clarke. Mr Clarke was listened to with great attention, and greeted with hearty cheers at the close. His address lasted for some time, and consisted of a clear explanation of the principles, representation, and answers to the general objections which are urged against the right of voting.

TOTNES.—On Wednesday evening last Mr Clarke gave a highly instructive lecture, in the Guildhall, to an attentive and admiring audience, Mr Alderman Angel in the chair. The mayor being from home, the Guildhall was granted by a large majority of the town council.

NEWCASTLE.—On Monday week a meeting was held in the lecture room, Nelson street, Newcastle, in pursuance of a public announcement that Mr Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, would address the inhabitants on the subject of complete suffrage. Mr Thomas Wilcke was in the chair. On the motion of Mr Charles Larkin, seconded by Mr David Adam, an address was voted to Mr Sturge, eulogising his public conduct, first, in regard to his exertions to abolish negro slavery; and next, to his efforts to ameliorate the condition of his fellow countrymen. Mr Sturge, in returning his acknowledgments, said that he was quite unprepared to make a suitable reply to this address, as it was quite unexpected on his part that such an honour would be conferred upon him. He had visited Newcastle simply for the purpose of stating his opinions with reference to those points of political reform entertained by the working classes. Mr Sturge then went over the various measures embodied in the people's charter, and stated his

concurrence in the sentiments therein expressed. At the conclusion of his address Mr Joshua Watson rose and professed himself a convert to the principle of universal suffrage. Several loud calls were made for Sir John Fife, who was sitting on the platform near Mr Sturge; but on presenting himself he was assailed with several loud hisses, which were speedily drowned by the plaudits of his friends. After considerable uproar the chairman took a show of hands on the question whether Sir John Fife should be heard, and the affirmative was carried by an overwhelming majority. Sir John proceeded at some length to vindicate his public conduct, and to declare his firm adherence to the people's cause, while they sought its promotion by constitutional means. Mr Lockey Harle was next called for, and in the explanation of his views he stated that they were in perfect concurrence with those of Mr Sturge, but he declined putting his name to the declaration, as he thought it inexpedient, in the present state of public feeling, to resolve on supporting no candidate who did not agree with the principles of the people's charter. At the close of the meeting a vote of thanks was given to Mr Sturge for his visit to Newcastle. The compliment was duly acknowledged, and the meeting broke up.

SOUTH SHIELDS.—On Tuesday afternoon Mr Sturge and Mr Albright visited South Shields, and had a meeting of electors and non-electors in Strachan's long room, Market place. There were about 100 persons present, of whom one-half were supposed to be electors. Mr Sturge explained the principles he espoused in a simple and unpretending style of speech, which seemed to please his hearers much. Mr Albright followed, and a conversation ensued, in which the chairman (Mr W. Carr) and others, took part.

NOTTINGHAM.—The committee of the Complete Suffrage association in this town, have resolved upon opening a room, where daily and other papers may be read each evening. This will doubtless be a great accommodation, and will materially promote the diffusion of political knowledge. In the present position of the nation it is the duty of all who possess the ability, to promote this object, and we are glad to perceive that Mr S. Bean and other friends of the cause, are contributing in a liberal manner to give permanency to the institution. Premises in Swann's yard, on the Long row, have been selected as the most eligible for the purpose, and will in a few days be opened.

KNIGHTSBRIDGE.—The Complete Suffrage association held a meeting on Thursday night at Thornton's coffee house, Knightsbridge green, in consequence of a lecturer having undertaken to prove that a repeal of the corn laws, under the present system of taxation, would be injurious to the people of this country. The worthy lecturer, however, never made good his promise or appearance. A discussion on the subject of the corn laws took place, Messrs Elmes, Charles, Westerton, Dorey, and Stimpson, being the speakers. The discussion was adjourned until next week. Several new members have given in their names to the secretary. Mr Westerton announced that a committee was sitting in Nottingham to support a petition to be presented to the House of Commons against the return of Mr Walter, whose success was chiefly attributable to the practices of bribery and corruption as heretofore. He impressed on the meeting the necessity of doing all in their power to comply with the wish of the committee, who had requested him to collect subscriptions for the prosecution of their desirable purpose.

LIVERPOOL.—The movement is commanding attention, even in this stronghold of bigotry and toryism. The *Albion* of Monday se'nnight has the following paragraph in its leading article:—"As a party, under that name, they (the chartists) are annihilated, though the principles which they adopted, not originated, still live in the 'Complete Suffrage Union,' and may yet be established by the power of moral persuasion, and the peaceful, but able and determined, direction of Joseph Sturge. To all such reformers we say, God speed! If we join not this movement, it is not because we deny the abstract truth of their positions, but that objects of more immediate interest, in our own estimation, claim our attention."

EDINBURGH.—The council held an extraordinary meeting on Friday, principally with a view of bringing together such friends of the cause, as had come from different parts of the country, to attend the banquet to Mr Crawford, and consulting with them in regard to the adoption of practical measures for the promotion of their common objects. Mr Crawford and Mr Sturge honoured the meeting with their presence, which was also attended by Mr Vincent, and Mr Collins, Provost Henderson of Paisley, the Rev. Mr Brewster and friends from Glasgow, Greenock, Dumfries, Dundee, Stirling, Dunfermline, and Kirkcaldy, whose report in regard to the progress of the principles of complete suffrage amongst the middle classes of their respective districts was particularly cheering. Mr Somers, of Dumfries presented a requisition to Mr Crawford and Mr Sturge to visit that town, signed by 100 of the most influential electors of the place. Similar requisitions were made by delegates from the other towns, with none of which Mr Sturge could comply, his engagements compelling his immediate return to England. Mr Crawford, however, has consented to remain for a short time in Scotland, and will visit as many places as possible, for the purpose of stirring up the electors to embark in the cause. Messrs Collins and Vincent also propose to make a Scottish missionary tour, proceeding as far northward as Aberdeen. In the evening a very numerous meeting took place in Dr Ritchie's chapel, Potter-row, on the subject of the suffrage. The chapel was crowded in every part. Mr Dunlop occupied the chair, and shortly addressed the meeting on the subject which had brought them together. Mr Sturge then addressed the meeting at great length, and was followed by Mr Sharman Crawford, Mr Beggs, Mr Collins, Dr Ritchie, and others.

HAWICK.—Mr John Collins lectured in the Town-hall on Monday and Tuesday, on the principles of complete suffrage. There was a good attendance on both evenings, especially on Tuesday, when the hall was filled with a respectable audience, who paid the deepest attention to the impressive and fascinating address of this distinguished advocate of popular rights. At the close of the last lecture a vote of thanks to Mr Collins was moved by Mr A. Hogg, seconded by Mr J. Gray, and carried amidst the plaudits of a highly gratified audience. The consequence of Mr Collins' visit to this town, will be the immediate formation of a Complete Suffrage union. A considerable number are already pledged to it.

GLASGOW.—Two highly important meetings were held in the great City hall, on Monday and Tuesday nights, to hear lectures on complete suffrage, by Henry Vincent. Full 2,000 persons attended the lectures, amongst whom were a large number of the middle classes. On Mr Vincent's arrival the first night, he was hailed with the most enthusiastic cheering, which was repeated again and again. The two lectures were listened to with deep interest. The principles enunciated appeared to give great delight to the working classes, at the time they were hewing away the prejudices of the middle classes. Mr Vincent appealed in the most earnest manner to both classes, called upon them to bury their mutual prejudices and dislikes, and unite heartily to secure justice for each and all. Votes of thanks were unanimously awarded to the lecturer. A question was asked by a chartist concerning the new conference, which Mr Vincent answered to his satisfaction. The Complete Suffrage union is making progress in Glasgow. It is the only movement in which the masses have confidence.

PAISLEY.—Pursuant to notice, and in accordance with a resolution passed at a preliminary meeting held last week, a public meeting of the inhabitants of Paisley took place in Mr Baird's church, James street, on Tuesday evening, for the purpose of forming a Complete Suffrage association, on the model of the Birmingham Union, under the direction of Mr Joseph Sturge. On the motion being put, an attempt was made to pass an amendment against the project, on the ground that such a Union already existed. The original motion was, however, carried almost unanimously; and an association was immediately formed. The church was filled on the occasion, and the utmost good order prevailed throughout the whole proceedings. It was altogether one of the best meetings held in this town for a long time past.

The Queen and her family have remained in comparative privacy at Windsor castle since our last. Her Majesty and the infant prince and princess, take daily exercise when the weather will permit.

We understand that the mortal remains of the Marquis Wellesley are to receive the last tribute of his country's respect by being deposited among the illustrious dead in Westminster abbey. The funeral, it is expected, will be a public one, and on a scale of splendour befitting the burial of so distinguished a statesman. The day upon which the funeral will take place has not, up to the present time, been decided upon.—*Standard*.

POSTSCRIPT.

Wednesday, October 5.

THE SPECIAL COMMISSION.—The commission was opened on Saturday afternoon; and on Monday morning at ten o'clock, the Judges, Tindal, Parke, and Rolfe, took their seats on the bench. The usual proclamations having been made, the grand jury, consisting of twenty-three of the county gentlemen, were sworn in; and Chief Justice Tindal delivered a very lengthy charge, in which, after giving a brief general outline of these illegal transactions, whose origin he attributed to certain disputes between the masters and men on the question of wages, he proceeded to state the difference between legal and illegal combinations, in a clear and temperate manner. The grand jury then retired, and at two o'clock returned with several bills. The petit jury was then sworn, and the business commenced. About thirty prisoners were then placed at the bar, charged with riotously and tumultuously assembling on the 15th August last, and beginning to demolish the dwelling-house of the Rev. Benjamin Vale, at Longton, in the parish of Stoke-upon-Trent. Most of the prisoners were young men, and some of them mere boys—they completely filled the dock, and some of them were placed behind the bar in front of the dock. The prisoners severally pleaded not guilty. The Solicitor-general, Mr Sergeant Ludlow, Mr Talbot, and Mr Godson, appeared for the prosecution; and Mr Lee, Mr Price, Mr Mayland, Mr Allen, and Mr Neale for several of the prisoners. The Solicitor-general opened the case to the jury, recapitulating the leading features of the late riots in the Staffordshire district, and then detailing the circumstances of the attack upon the Rev. Dr Vale's house, on the 15th of August. The learned gentleman then referred at some length to the law as it bore upon the indictment preferred against the prisoners, all of whom he stated would be identified by the witnesses he should call before them. Mr and Mrs Vale then gave evidence at some length; and after the examination of one or two other witnesses, who spoke chiefly as to the identity of the parties engaged in the destruction of the property, the Court adjourned the proceedings, and the jury were given in charge to three constables, and locked up for the night. The Court was extremely crowded during the day. Yesterday the court was opened at half-past eight o'clock, and the prisoners having been again placed at the bar, and the jury called over, further evidence of identity was proceeded with during the morning, and was not finished when the report was sent off.

EXAMINATION OF THE CHARTIST PRISONERS AT MANCHESTER.—Yesterday morning the following prisoners were brought up for examination at the New Bailey:—The Rev. James Schofield, William Schofield (his son), James Leach, Robert Ramsden, Thomas Railton, Christopher Doyle, John Massey, Bernard M'Cartney, the Rev. W. Hill (editor of the *Northern Star*), George Julian Harney, William Fletcher, John Campbell, James Arthur, Richard Hockley, John Thornton, John Norman, Robert Brooke, T. B. Smith, John Allinson, and Samuel Parkes, on a charge of general conspiracy and intimidation. Considerable anxiety appeared to exist to ascertain the precise character of the charge against the prisoners, which it was understood would be fully detailed by the agents for the prosecution. Mr Brandt opened the case by stating at considerable length the nature of the proceedings, detailing the nature of the movements which had led to the recent disturbances, and connecting the prisoners as taking an active part in the illegal proceedings which had led to their apprehension. He was quoting a number of the chartist placards, documents, and publications when the dispatch left.

CORN MARKET. MARK LANE, THIS DAY.

There is but a small supply of English wheat this morning; and no foreign. Prices remain unaltered.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received several letters on the subject of ordination of dissenting ministers. They must stand over till next week, when we may insert one or two of them, accompanied with a further explanation of our own views.

"W. D. S." Thanks for his friendly suggestion.

"Z." is in type, but must stand over till next week.

"Common Sense" respectfully declined for want of room.

"J. T." We are obliged by his attention, but the matter is scarcely important enough for publication.

"John Hilson." Cleave; Shoe lane, London.

"Stirling." We have no opening at present.

Erratum. In the article on the special commissions last week, in the last line, for "jurymen of Staffordshire," read "jurymen of Lancashire and Staffordshire."

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The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1842.

SUMMARY.

"HONOUR to the Chairman, and prosperity to the Edinburgh Complete Suffrage Union." Such was the sentiment proposed by William Sharman Crawford, member for Rochdale, at the late Edinburgh banquet—a sentiment to which we most heartily respond. Mr Crawford was, as we anticipated, the *only* M. P. who graced this gathering of Scottish radicals. Some of his compeers may have been prevented by *bonâ fide* obstacles—most of them stayed away, we apprehend, from a deep-seated distaste for a movement which can serve no party purposes—and so the member for Rochdale was alone. At all events, Babington Macaulay, Esq., was not there. He was talked about, it is true. The memory of his speech on universal suffrage is yet green among the electors of "Auld Reekie." They think of him at divers times, and speak anent him occasionally—and, possibly, at the next election, they will give "the eloquent member" leave of absence—offer him leisure to follow a vocation in which he has no rival—the writing of literary reviews. O! these whigs! They transmuted whatever they touched, but not into gold. What splendid talents have they not, first purchased, and then disgraced! Sheil, Hobhouse, Macaulay—but we will not run over the list. It is a mournful catalogue.

Aye! there seem to be braw doings in Scotland. Complete suffrage is making head there with no common rapidity. Nay! the infection is spreading in the northern provinces of England, and will require all the efforts of the *Leeds Mercury* to stay it. Not two articles only against the movement, as it put forth last week, but a dozen per week, at least, will soon be required; and even then, it must depend upon the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Examiner*, the *Times* and the *Standard*, to stamp with their sanction, and give increased circulation to, its worst insinuations. But let us whisper one word in the ear of the *Leeds Mercury*. It would be as well if it could hit upon some novel argument. Its article this week, entitled "Lowest Class Legislation," has been served up before a few times. We have not answered it—but, with a view to keep the subject clear of personalities, we have reprinted, in another column, an argument from the *Nonconformist*, which perhaps will be found to meet the case. If ever the *Mercury* should wish us to pursue the subject, we shall hold ourselves very much at its service. We must say, however, that this offer is quite uncalled for. The *Bradford Observer*, whose masterly article of last week deserves a separate reprint, and the *Leeds Times*, will be quite competent to give the *Mercury* full satisfaction.

Sir James Graham, having returned from the Highlands, new vigour is infused into the Home office. The magistrates, at his touch, exhibit another spasmodic fit of energy—and lo! twelve chartist leaders are arrested on a charge of conspiracy. Rumour whispers about a suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act. These are some of the blessings of a "strong government." That "very humble and obedient servant" of the whigs, the *Chronicle*, commenting upon these events, observes that few persons remember the past history of toryism in office; and few, therefore, can appreciate the merit of the whigs in not having had recourse to the harsher instruments of coercion. Heh! What says Ireland to that? Nay! Old England is not wholly oblivious. We can just recall to mind that in 1817, the efforts of the people to obtain parliamentary reform were crushed by a suspension of "*habeas corpus*"—and we may take this occasion to nudge the recollection of the then radical *Morning Chronicle*, and remind him that the whole body of whigs, with a few individual exceptions, voted with the tory government for this measure of coercion. And what they did then, we believe they would consent to do now—and if they did consent, their pliant organ would applaud their resolution to the echo. *Arcades ambo*—but no! we will pursue the matter no further.

The special commission has been opened at Stafford by Sir N. Tindal. His charge to the grand jury is moderate, and we are glad to see confirms our belief that the refusal by the magistrates at Birmingham to admit the bail put in by Mr O'Neil, on the ground of the political tenets of the parties in question, was illegal. Mr O'Neil's friends should instantly give these gentlemen notice that they will be called to a strict legal account for their arbitrary proceedings—and if Mr Justice Cresswell, who twice sanctioned this

freak of the magistrates, does not feel a tingling in his ears, we shall rather wonder. To be sure his wig protects him.

No other matters of moment requiring notice in this summary. Foreign intelligence, like domestic, is somewhat flat.

NO COMPROMISE!

It is a matter of obvious importance to the success of the Complete Suffrage movement, that every step taken towards the realisation of its principles should be under the guidance of sound policy. In the commencement of an agitation, aiming at results so unspeakably momentous, it becomes us to weigh, with patient and scrupulous care, every plan of action submitted to us for adoption. Trivial mistakes, at the outset of our career, may draw after them a train of bitter mortifications—and, at the moment of anticipated success, we may discover, when it is too late to rectify the error, that our strength has been wasted in the pursuit of a phantom. It becomes the friends of complete suffrage to study the history of preceding movements for reform—to trace back their failure to their original sources—to note and to avoid former mistakes—and to bring to the examination of every principle of policy, that wisdom which experience has purchased for them at no insignificant cost. Preceding disappointments will thus be turned to practical account, and out of past defeats we may gather the laurels of future victory.

Perhaps no recommendation of the council at Birmingham has provoked so much cavil, as that which relates to what we shall term "exclusive voting." The council have suggested to the friends of complete suffrage the propriety of voting *only* for such candidates for municipal or parliamentary power, as are willing to pledge themselves to the principles of the Union. This recommendation has given rise to no little discussion. By the organs of the whig section, it is denounced with special indignation—branded as "intolerant"—described as adapted only to further the views of the tories—and compared with those tactics of physical-force chartism which had well-nigh placed in abeyance the right of public meeting. By some of the advocates of our principles, the policy of this step is more than questioned. The adoption of it, it is urged, will divide our ranks—will repel from us the timid, and disgust the half-hearted. We shall thus lose a vast amount of co-operation, which might else have been secured, and by our own dogmatism shall put a narrow circle about our own influence.

Such being the state of the case, we shall be justified in passing the entire question under deliberate review; and we proceed, therefore, to submit to the calm judgment of our readers the following observations.

The present movement has for its object the embodiment in legislation of a well-defined political truth—that the people, on the ground of equity as well as that of policy, are entitled to a full, fair, and free representation in parliament. This principle, it is obvious, differs not simply in degree, but in kind, from all others at present in vogue among reformers. It insists upon the right of *persons*, as distinguished from the right of *property*, to be represented. It has regard to men as the subjects of the realm, and deals with them as such, without respect to the accidental circumstances affecting their position. It cedes to the governed the power of ultimately controlling the government under which they live, which they support at a heavy expense, and which they are bound, under various penalties, to obey. It is a political truth, evolved out of primitive moral principles, and it roots itself in the necessary and eternal obligation of man to man. And this is its prime distinction. Herein it differs from all mere expedients. It is a recognition of the claims of *man* under government, to have a voice in the framing of those laws to which he is compelled to submit.

Now we hold that something is due to that truth from its abettors. They are bound to keep it prominently before the mind of the public. To this they are pledged. Of this all their policy ought, in consistency, to be a development. This is the one lesson which they undertake to teach to their fellow-countrymen. And they must not sell it at any price. If they consent to shuffle this aside, they surrender the very object of their mission. They can receive, in lieu of it, no equivalent—not even an approach to an equivalent. With them, compromise is impossible—for compromise supposes the cession by both parties of a part only of what is held. But the advocate of complete suffrage can only give up his whole principle, or retain it in its integrity. By voting short of it, he receives another principle in its stead. He surrenders his position. He resigns the sole ground of his agitation. He lets go the truth committed to his keeping—and, instead of defending that, he fights for an antagonist.

Assuming that it is the aim of the friends of complete suffrage to work out the principle before adverted to, it may be well to consider how their end will be promoted by an abandonment of the plan of "exclusive voting." Let us imagine a case. Let us imagine that, by a coalition of reformers, a majority of members could be returned to the next parliament, pledged to the adoption of household suffrage. The question is—are we nearer to our ultimate object? In the first place, it must be borne in mind that, in order to the success of this object, we must shift the basis of agitation—we must found our appeals to electors upon, not the everlasting principles of equity, but the requirements of a temporary expediency—must bid them calculate chances, rather than consult conscience. We must content ourselves with consigning our principle to another lengthened period of oblivion, and permit the knowledge of it to die away out of the minds of the present generation. About the now well-defined aim of the Union we must allow the mists of vagueness and uncertainty to gather, and very speedily the truth which now stands out in sharp and prominent relief will be enwrapped in clouds of confused mystery. And when we have sub-

mitted to this suppression of our main object, this obscuration of our principle, what shall we have gained? Why, a House pledged against us—abhorrent of the truth for the realisation of which we originally started—holding the theory of a representation of persons, as distinguished from property, in contempt—ready to employ the influence with which we have clothed them in determined opposition to our designs—and capable of doing it so much the more mischief in consequence of their profession of liberal opinions. Have we not had one specimen of the fruits of such policy? Would the country ever have taken from tory statesmen the measures which it reluctantly received from the hands of the whigs? And has not the plan of voting short of our principles brought us, at last, to our present humiliating position? We fought for men so long that the whole nation lost sight of principles. Let us not repeat that mistake. We must pursue principles this time, leaving men to follow as they list.

And if we pursue principles, we cannot vote for any other than complete suffrage men. Household suffrage is no advance on the road to the complete suffrage principle. It recognises nothing of the right for which we contend. They who profess it are more likely to hinder our triumph than they who deny it. On the ground of their willingness to concede an extension of the franchise, they will defend themselves all the more successfully against an admission of the right. They will put a property qualification in a more specious point of view, and will give us a more numerous constituency, not as a means to, but in place of, the object after which we are striving. If we really mean complete suffrage, we must vote for that and nothing short of it—any other plan will but defraud us of our main end.

But we shall let in the tories! Aye! there's the rub. Well, then, it becomes us to consider whether, since both parties stand opposed to the principles we profess, we will contend with a foe who gets into power in spite of us, or be defeated by pretended friends whom we have ourselves thrust into office. Why should we waste our strength for men who disclaim all intention of helping us to our object? Let them take their own chance. The whigs are never destined to regain place, and to seek to put them there would be but throwing away our means. The battle is between the aristocracy and the people, and we must side with the one or the other. It matters very little whether the aristocracy carry on the war under whig or tory colours—except that the principles of the latter are undisguised, whilst those of the former are done up in mystery. As to the charge of intolerance, we can afford to laugh at that. We choose to vote for our own principles—they who condemn us choose to do the same. We do nothing to hinder them—and we will take care that they do not hinder us. Why should we surrender the truth we hold at their bidding, and for the sake of their political elevation? Have we not sacrificed enough upon them? Let them come to us this time. They are the smaller body, and it is their turn to give way. They hold that property, we, that persons, should be represented. In order to a coalition the one principle or the other must be given up—for there is no middle ground upon which we can meet. What, then, is our obvious policy? To throw away our vantage ground at the civil request of a party? or to hoist our flag, bearing upon it the motto, "No compromise! No surrender?"

HOW TO GO TO WORK.

PREVIOUS articles have indicated our opinion that the parliamentary constituencies in towns should be made the object of present agitation. We venture to drop suggestions as to how this may be conducted. Immediate preparation for a course of agitation should be made in all the towns enumerated in the list given in our No. of 21st ult., as in some degree open to popular influence. The friends of the movement everywhere should carefully go over that list, to ascertain whether they have any acquaintance or friendship with parties resident in these towns; and if so, let them instantly correspond by post, and urge upon such the duty of aiding "the work to be done."

The first attempt at forming a complete suffrage association should be confined to a few choice spirits. The staff of the regiment should be formed and organised before the public are invited to enlist. If only three ardent and prudent men at the outset co-operate, it is enough. Let their first object be to obtain a copy of the rate-book, of the one or more parishes which may make up their borough.* Here they have a list of all the householders arranged according to their residences. For the convenient collecting of the rates, the names in the rate-book follow in the order of the residences of the rate payers, so that a collector calling at the house of the party first entered, then goes on to the next, and so on to the last, without passing over any ground twice over. Having then this copy of the rate book, all the male householders should be taken out in the order in which they stand in such book. This list should be carefully copied into a book which will contain the whole. After the first hundred names in this book, or as nearly as may be, (observing always the rule of drawing the line of which we are about to speak at the termination of a street or yard, or of one side of a street or yard), draw a line across the book; all the names which appear above this line should then be called No. 1 district; next draw a line after the second hundred names, and all the names which appear between the first and second lines will form No. 2 district; and so on, until all the names appearing on

* By 17 Geo. 2, c. 3, sect. 2, it is enacted, "that the churchwardens and overseers of the poor in every parish, township, or place, shall permit all and every the inhabitants of the said parish, township, or place, to inspect every such rate at all seasonable times, paying one shilling for the same; and shall, upon demand, forthwith give copies of the same, or any part thereof, to any inhabitant of the said parish, township, or place, paying at the rate of sixpence for every twenty-four names." By sec. 3, a refusal or neglect to give copies as aforesaid is made an offence liable to the penalty of 20s., to be sued for and recovered by the party aggrieved.

the entire list of householders are subdivided into districts containing about one hundred names each. The names appearing on the entire list, as forming district No. 1, are then to be copied into a smaller book to contain only the names in that district; such book will be called a district book. The names in No. 2 district are to be taken out in the same manner; and so on for each district.

These district books are next to be committed to the hands of parties, whose names are to be registered as undertaking that duty, and to what district appointed, who will each proceed by canvass and inquiry to ascertain how many friends to complete suffrage are to be found in his list. The district books, made out in the manner we have suggested, will contain only the names of householders. It will be the duty of the inspectors in each district to ascertain the lodgers, or other male residents not being householders, located within his district, and to incorporate the names of such in their proper position in the list according to their residence. An entire town being thus parceled out into districts, and what we will call an inspector appointed to each, it is manifest that a machinery exists adapted either for collecting or diffusing opinions and information effectively and promptly.

Now, what we recommend is, that everywhere this frame-work of an association—this scaffolding for the erection of the building, be first constructed noiselessly and quietly. The *pro tem.* secretary of such an association has, through the inspectors of each district, formed as we have described, the means of immediate communication with the whole town. If the object be to circulate a pamphlet, he has only to send the necessary number to the inspector of each district, and he again to sub-distribute among the 100 names upon his lists. Handbills or notices informing of private or public meetings, will be distributed by the secretary to the inspectors in like manner, and they will sub-distribute as before described. The signatures to addresses, memorials, requisitions to members of parliament, and to magistrates to call public meetings, will all be easy of attainment by means of the same machinery.

The collection of donations or subscriptions will also be made by the inspectors in their respective districts, and then paid by them into the hands of the treasurer or secretary. We apprehend that by the simple means we have pointed out, an organisation would be effected adequate to every requirement of a peaceful and legal agitation.

We repeat, that this machinery should everywhere be first constructed. If friends to the object sufficient for this cannot be found, we say emphatically, let no association be attempted. A *do-nothing*, unorganised community, having the name of a society, but nothing else, damages every cause it is set up to support. It cannot have success; and with want of success come disgust to friends and triumph to enemies. With the organisation we have sketched, the fact whether a serviceable association can be formed may be most accurately ascertained; every man ready to become a member will be known. All this machinery, then, being complete, and an opinion favourable to such object reported by each inspector of a district as the result of his inquiries, a public meeting, to consider the propriety of forming a complete suffrage association, should then be called. And here, at the outset, the convenience, nay, absolute necessity, of this previous organisation will be experienced.

We most strongly urge that in every case where a public meeting of inhabitants is called in support of complete suffrage objects, a requisition be signed as numerous as possible by householders, requesting the chief magistrate to call such meeting. We say, in every case this should be done, although it should be already known that consent would be refused. When the magistracy refuse, the requisitionists should then call the meeting themselves, setting forth their requisition to the magistracy, and his or their answer. The importance of this course arises from the necessity of being prepared to combat the settled design that will be on foot to prevent, or put down, meetings of this nature. The only pretext that can be framed for doing this would be, that the meetings actually held or projected were of a nature to disturb the public peace. Now it will be difficult to assert, much more to prove this fact, in respect of a meeting which a body of peaceable householders united in asking the chief magistrate, in the first place, to call, and next, to preside over. In the absence of violent and indiscreet language at such meetings, which the friends of the movement will everywhere eschew, it will be no easy matter to persuade juries that parties present at meetings so called had any other object than the preservation and extension of their liberties, and that only by lawful means. The judges, too, under anticipated circumstances, would doubtless be urged by the government to ensure convictions for speaking, or being present at, such meetings; and were the law in consequence attempted to be strained by a subservient judge, the precautionary circumstances we have recommended, being in evidence, must prevent any jury finding that such meetings tended even to a breach of the peace.

British juries are truly the bulwarks of British freedom; they have proved themselves to be such in many an onslaught; and when further proved, as they shortly must, they will maintain their well-earned renown. While, however, juries will do their duty, the people must take care to do theirs, by surrounding their public meetings with all the circumstances we have urged as demonstrative of peaceful and lawful intentions; so depriving tyranny of even a pretence for its exercise.

In a future article we propose to show the objects to which the organisation here recommended may be advantageously applied.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

It is hard to please some parties, and in the list we must place the *Leeds Mercury*. The Complete Suffrage Union, we fear, will

never reach the perfect standard of discretion, which will commend its proceedings to the judgment of our whig contemporary. At all events, no act of the council has hitherto won his approbation. The article upon which we commented last week, against Mr Sturge and his coadjutors, opened with an implied charge of blind recklessness, because upon the very heels of "the holiday insurrection"—ere yet the turn-outs have returned to work, before the military have been withdrawn, or the unhappy criminals who now fill our gaols have stood their trials—the council has convoked a national conference for December next. This haste the *Mercury* seems to think but one step this side madness. If, indeed, it be madness, it is the madness of the surgeon, who, when his patient is scorched with fever, breathes a vein; or of the engineer, who when other parties are busy in weighting the boiler, and stirring up the fires, opens a safety valve. Nothing soothes irritation so effectually as hope. Severity may repress discontent, but he who would prevent its explosion, must find for it another and a safer outlet. When excitement is at the highest, he is the best friend of his country who finds for it a legitimate and constitutional channel. At other times, to hold out a prospect of relief may be safe—at such times as these it is absolutely necessary. Mr Sturge and the council, we think, have done wisely in coming forward at this critical juncture, and exhorting the suffering masses not to despair—and so far from adding to the present irritation by announcing the projected conference, we are persuaded they have done much to allay it. The *Mercury*, however, could not charge them with recklessness, without throwing into his charge a whig fib to season it. With Joseph Sturge, it says, as all persons, so all times are alike. Now this is a misrepresentation, and the *Mercury* well knows it. Complete suffrage proposes to give to every man a vote, but does not propose to touch those gradations of society which ever obtain amongst us. It does not put intelligence and ignorance, wealth and poverty, morality and vice, on the same footing. Intelligence will always be power; wealth will always give influence; morality will always command homage. Complete suffrage will not alter this established order of things. Our present constitutional system superadds to social power and influence that which is political, and excludes from the franchise those who have no other, no social protection. By putting men on an equality in respect of the suffrage, we do not put them on an equality of condition or of influence. All men have in common the attributes of humanity, but all men are not equally powerful. All men in this country are personally free, but a vast variety of condition remains nevertheless. And when all men have a vote, intelligence, station, wealth, morality, religion, will not have less influence than now, but more. The extension of the franchise will extend the range of their dominion, and give wider scope for their legitimate operation. Take the present constituency. All ten-pound householders have a vote for a member of parliament—all have the same instrument of political power. But does the *Leeds Mercury* therefore contend that the wealthy manufacturer, and the green-grocer who supplies his workmen with potatoes, possess an equal amount of control over our legislature? Will complete suffrage repeal the natural laws which give influence to rank, wealth, intelligence, and character? The *Mercury* is quite aware that it will not; but then it had an end to answer—a party end. It wished to throw about Mr Sturge's opinions an air of absurdity—and it scrupled not to resort to a species of logical falsehood, for the purpose of creating prejudice in the minds of its readers. Let the *Mercury* have a care—we are determined to expose these contemptible frauds; and if the whig press will practise them, at all events we will strip off from it the guise of probity.

CORN AND CORN LAWS AGAIN.

"A MILLION of money added to the revenue—nearly three millions of quarters of corn added to the people's food—an abundant harvest, and the averages scarcely effected"—"all glory to Sir Robert Peel and his band of patriot legislators." This is the theme at present fashionable in what are called the leading political circles. It was begun by the big drum of the *Quarterly Review*; continued, with variations, by the double bass of the *Times*; and echoed by the shrill octave of the *Spectator*. Our readers will excuse our joining in the laudation. To our unsophisticated mind, these circumstances, if they prove anything, prove the safety as well as the urgent necessity that exists for the total and immediate repeal of the corn laws; for if three millions of quarters of corn can be thrown into the market within a few months, and that in the face of a good harvest, without producing a great depression in prices, it follows that the corn must have been badly wanted by the consumers; and, that before its introduction they must have been on very short allowance.

The *Quarterly Review* gives an array of tables, to show that the recent large importations are the result of the alterations in the scale. We deny the premises at starting—we think we can prove to our readers that these large importations have arisen from totally different causes. It must be borne in mind that, after the harvest of last year, there was a long continuance of heavy rains, so long that it was generally admitted that a very large breadth of corn land would be unsown. There was, in fact, no autumnal seed-time in 1841. This probable short-coming naturally induced speculation among the corn dealers; orders were sent out to all the corn exporting countries; large quantities were purchased; bills were drawn for the amount on the English speculator. The corn arrived, and what has been the consequence? Let the *Gazette* and the Corn Exchange answer. We believe that we are under the mark in saying that the failures in the corn trade, since April last, exceed TWO MILLIONS STERLING.

We are willing to admit that the reduction of duty in some parts of the scale might have had some trifling effect; but we deny that

the operation is one to be reasoned upon, or one from which any conclusions can be drawn, either favourable or unfavourable to the Peel scale. The true and natural solution of the present state of the corn trade, advantage of which is so adroitly taken to laud the Prime Minister, is plainly this:—At the end of last year and the beginning of this, there were indications of another short harvest—speculation was rife—it had answered well the previous year—men who purchased 10,000 quarters in 1840 and 1841, purchased 20,000 in 1841 and 1842. As the bills fell due the sun gained strength; the spring-sown corn promised well. Some heavy showers in May revived the hopes of the importers, but all to no purpose; a higher power had decreed a good harvest—abundance was scattered over the land. There was no longer a chance of importing corn at a profit—then followed a mass of misery and distress, unparalleled in any trade. 'Tis true the distress and misery are among a class of persons the public seldom feel much commiseration for; still, it is distress, though the distress of the gaming table.

Instead of this state being one for congratulation, we see in it everything which, to our minds, is bad in legislation. If the thimble-rig were a thing encouraged by act of parliament, there might be some excuse, on the score of consistency, in perpetuating the present "glorious uncertainty;" but seeing that the virtuous indignation of every Solon of the bench is excited against the unfortunate pea and thimble table, we can see no justice or consistency in encouraging the scale and duty. For experience has shown that while the plunder, in the first instance, is generally confined to the few shillings in the pocket of the poor bumpkin; in the latter case, if the gambler succeeds, a nation suffers; and if, on the contrary, he does not, he scatters the effects far and wide.

REGISTER! REGISTER! REGISTER!

WELL might Sir Robert Peel have exclaimed that the battle of the constitution was to be fought in the registration courts. It was the saying of a little mind, but a shrewd one. Sir Robert Peel knew that the battle of the constitution could not be fought on any ground of principle, but that it might have a chance of success on an arena where trickery and evasion could be brought to bear. And he moreover saw that the registration courts were exactly adapted to this kind of warfare. Therefore, throughout the conservative line the signal ran, and, if it did not kindle any lofty or soul-stirring emotions, it at least set to work every individual of the attorney species, who hoped to make an honest or a dishonest penny out of the people's franchise. The nett result of the patriotic efforts of these gentry has been the organisation in every city, town, borough, and county, of a well-paid band, whose business it is to litigate the franchise; and if our readers appreciate the full meaning of the word "litigate," they will have some idea of the chicanery, fraud, deceit, and trumpery technicalities practised in the registration courts.

This annual ordeal of trouble and expense which voters have to undergo is now in operation; and the daily press has supplied us with one or two instances of the care with which the people's rights were guarded by the authors of that inestimable blessing, the Reform bill.

The want of uniformity in the decisions of revising barristers has often been the subject of animadversion. A man's vote in one locality is rejected for the very same reason that it is accepted in another. One barrister inquires whether the occupant of chambers has the key of the outer door, before he will register him. Another declares that the possession of the key is of no consequence. In Liverpool the revising barrister measures the distance at which a freeman resides from the town, as the crow flies, or in a straight line. In London he measures it, as the man walks, or by the nearest thoroughfares. Here, the last day of July is included in the voter's residence—there it is excluded. Such are bygone decisions; but, the following, which occurred last week in Marylebone and the City, will, we think, match them for folly and gross inconsistency. Charles Dickens claimed to vote in Marylebone; he was rejected, because he had been absent for the last six months in America. Francis Collison claimed to vote in the city of London; after mature consideration he was accepted, although it was proved that he had been absent from his home for more than two years, and it was quite uncertain when he would return. Both Mr Dickens and Mr Collison retained possession of their houses through their families or their domestics, but the constituency of Marylebone is minus the one, while the constituency of London is plus the other. Mr M'Christie, the city revising barrister, in giving his judgment, which was more than double the necessary length, quoted many very learned authorities as to the true meaning of the term, "residence." Not the least curious of his quotations is one from that great legal luminary, Sir Edward Coke, which we cannot resist transferring to our pages. "If a man dwelleth in a foreign shire, riding, city, or town corporate, and keepeth a house and servants in another shire, riding, city, or town corporate, he is an inhabitant in each shire, riding, city, or town corporate." This is not common sense, but we dare to say it is common law; and, it was doubtless in the ubiquitous spirit of this strange paragraph, that Sir John Easthope, at the Westminster Registration court, was adjudged to be a resident both in Salisbury street and Grafton street. Of what fantastic logic are electoral franchises the prey!

The above and kindred incongruities, we believe, are the consequences of two sins in the Reform bill—the one of omission, the other of commission.

The Reform bill ought to have contained certain plain rules of construction as to what constitutes residence—as to the mode of measuring distance—of calculating time—of describing occupancy—with many other details, trifling when the facility with which they

might have been laid down is considered, but of grave importance when we learn the embarrassment and vexation their absence has created. We search in vain, however, for such rules amid its voluminous clauses; and we have to thank the whigs for submitting the franchise to the torturings of legal ingenuity, and evoking the quaint barbarisms of Sir Edward Coke to sit in judgment upon a ten-pound householder.

Simple definitions of the conditions of voting (and conditions there must be under any system) are essential to simplicity of registration; but simplicity of registration will be unattainable as long as qualifications are multiplied, and based upon property. Instead of there being but one qualification, which complete suffrage would establish, we have now freeholders, leaseholders, tenants at will, freemen, burgesses, scot and lot voters, potwallopers, &c.; and, as though these divisions were insufficient to plague and torment us, we have, besides, the subdivisions of territorial and official freeholders, leaseholders for lives, and leaseholders for years, and tenants at will of ten and of fifty pounds. In fact, the varieties of tenure and value, not supposed to be very creditable to our jurisprudence, have been introduced into our present system of voting; and thus the aristocracy of wealth and rank is enabled to tyrannise over the constituencies of Great Britain and Ireland by all the methods of intrigue and intimidation.

Whenever the suffrage becomes single as to its qualification, and complete as to its application, these things will cease; but not till then.

GENERAL NEWS.

FOREIGN.

FRANCE.

The Paris papers contain no political news of importance. Ministers are successively returning to Paris. Marshal Soult reached that capital from Eu on Thursday; M. Duchatel was expected in a couple of days; and M. Guizot had removed from his summer residence at Auteuil to the Hotel of Foreign Affairs. The King was not to take up his residence at Paris before the 14th of November. All the journals refer to deplorable ravages occasioned throughout France by the late rains, which produced in various districts inundations unequalled in extent since the year 1812. In several of the wine districts (those of the Rhone particularly) the vintage had been nearly destroyed.

The *Courier de la Gironde* publishes a letter from a Bordeaux merchant, complaining that by the new American tariff the duties on French brandies are raised to 250 per cent., and on French wines to 100 per cent., whilst the highest duty imposed by the same tariff on British manufactures is but 40 per cent. The *Courier Francais* concurs with its Parisian and provincial contemporaries in deprecating the American tariff, but advises, that instead of a war of tariffs, France undertake reciprocal trade with the Brazils and Egypt. The *Journal des Debats* recommends the conclusion of a treaty of commerce between France and Belgium, as the only means of preventing the latter from acceding to the German Customs union.

SPAIN.

The latest accounts from Madrid state that the ministry had contradicted the reports of the resignation of M. Zumalacarre (minister of justice), and of the intended dissolution of the Cortes, previous to their convocation. The same journal declares, that there was no truth in the announcement that General Zurbano had been superseded in his command, because of his alleged brutal conduct towards M. Lefevre, a French resident at Gerona. The Minister of Foreign Affairs was anxious, before he came to any decision on the subject, to enter into a full examination of the affair. The *Corresponsal* publishes a letter from Algeiras of the 16th ult., announcing that Colonel Fulgosio, whose brother was shot at Madrid, in consequence of the events of October last, had escaped from the Castle del Haco, of Ceuta, and safely arrived at Gibraltar.

PORTUGAL.

Lisbon news to the 26th ult., was brought by the Tagus steamer. The Government had nearly arranged for an advance of 1,000 contos with the bank and Confianca Company of capitalists. Independently of this, Senhors Ferreira dos Santos and J. J. Soares, two of the new peers, and Oporto capitalists, had offered an advance of 300 contos to pay the British government claims, due on October 1st. With these advances and their other resources, the government would be able to go till January. A revolutionary attempt broke out at Marvao, a fortress near the Spanish frontier, in the district of Portalegre, on the 20th. An ensign named M. J. Franca, at the head of a detachment of the 26th Cacadores stationed there, proclaimed the constitution of 1820, but the artillerymen stationed in the castle refused to join; and finding steps were taking against him, Franca quickly took himself off, and fled into Spain, accompanied by his two brothers and other accomplices, and thirty-six private soldiers, most of whom had, however, since returned. The government had issued a decree, signed by the Queen and all the ministers, suspending the Habeas Corpus in the district of Portalegre for 30 days. The tariff question was about to be resumed with activity. Senhor Gomes de Castro, the new foreign minister, has entered upon the duties of his office. Portarias has been issued from all the departments, calling for a strict investigation into every head of the expenditure, with a view to enable the government to reduce the present expenses by rigorous retrenchment.

AMERICA.

Intelligence has arrived to the 19th ult. The papers are full of the correspondence between Lord Ashburton and Mr Webster. No material alteration had occurred in the commercial or monetary circles. The new loan had not been contracted for. Hopes were expressed that the English capitalists would yet come forward and relieve the pecuniary necessities of the United States treasury. It was rumoured from Washington, that Mr Webster intended to resign the office of secretary of state, and that he would be succeeded either by Mr Cushing or by Mr Upshur. Mr Forward would remain at the Treasury. The American Fur company had failed.

Sir Charles Bagot, the governor-general of Canada, opened the second session of the first parliament of Canada on the 8th ult. His

Excellency's speech on the occasion did not contain any matter of importance. Alluding to the treaty recently concluding between Great Britain and the United States, he said—

"I rejoice that I am able to acquaint you that a treaty between Great Britain and the United States has been signed on the part of her Majesty, and since ratified by the Federal Senate, by which the important questions affecting this province and the United States have been adjusted. From this happy settlement, the ratification of which by her Majesty I hope soon to be able to announce to you, I augur the most favourable consequences to the province, in the maintenance of peace, the restoration of confidence, and the devotion of the undivided energies of its inhabitants to the internal advancement, and the development of the vast resources of the country. These have been among her Majesty's chief objects in the negotiation of this treaty; and I am commanded by the Queen to state to you, that no wish is nearer to her Majesty's heart than that, under her rule and the protection of her Crown, all her faithful subjects in Canada may rest in undisturbed peace, may feel themselves to be one people with their fellow-subjects in the British islands, and may increase in wealth, prosperity, and contentment, founded on the possession and rational enjoyment of a free and essentially British constitution."

The news from Texas is to the end of August. An expectation was felt, that through the joint interposition of the agents of Great Britain and the United States, a treaty of peace would be agreed on between Mexico and Texas, and a period put to the effusion of blood.

The news from Mexico is unimportant. The expedition for the reconquest of Yucatan promised to be a failure. Many of the troops destined for the expedition had died of the black vomit.

The dates from Buenos Ayres are to the 10th of July. Rosas had re-assumed the functions of government.

THE LEVANT.

Intelligence from Alexandria has been received to the 6th ult. The crews of the different vessels composing the Egyptian fleet having been paid one year's arrears on the 28th ult., three ships of the line were towed out by the steamer Nile, and on the 2nd instant six more, with three frigates, two brigs, and four corvettes followed. The fleet was cruising in sight, communicating with the land by means of two steamers. On the 4th, the Pasha received a dispatch from Samy Pasha, informing him that the Sultan contemplated conferring on Mehemet Ali the rank of grand vizier, and had ordered the Sandarat Nishane, or honorary insignia of that dignity, to be forwarded to him immediately by Samy Pasha, in the Raschid steamer, which was expected daily at Alexandria. The Pasha had been greatly flattered by this mark of distinction on the part of his sovereign, and declared that if he were invited to repair to Constantinople, he would not hesitate an instant to go and throw himself at the feet of the Sultan, and that if he received no such invitation, he would solicit leave to proceed to that capital in the course of next year. Ibrahim Pasha was shortly expected in Alexandria. Said Effendi, the Turkish envoy sent at the time from Constantinople to regulate the accounts of the administration of Syria, was still at Alexandria. The Pasha treated him with great attention, and often took him out in his carriage. According to letters from Cairo of the 4th instant, mortality among the cattle in the chiftliks of the Pasha had been of late very considerable. No less than 13,000 oxen had died there, and 2,700 on the lands of Ibrahim Pasha. Not a single beast had survived on those of Samy Pasha. It was accordingly feared that the chiftliks could not be cultivated this year. The Nile had at that date reached the height of 22 cubits.

From Constantinople the accounts are to the 7th ult. inclusive. By an imperial firman of the 4th Izzet Mehemet Pasha, the late grand Vizier, was appointed governor of Adrianople, and of the provinces of Tchirmen, in the place of Said Pasha; the latter was transferred to the government of Angora; Essad Pasha, former Muschir of Aleppo, was invested with that of the provinces of Saida and Tripoli of Syria; Vedjihi Pasha, ex-Muschir of Diarbeker, was appointed governor of the provinces of Orfa and Aleppo, and Izzet Pasha, general of division at Saida, was promoted to the government of Jerusalem. The Sultan had given to Mehemet Ali "another proof of his imperial satisfaction by raising him to the dignity of grand vizier," "in consideration of the obedience and devotedness to the imperial throne, with which the governor of Egypt was animated, and of his long and faithful services." Private letters from Beyrout state that Mahomed Pasha, on hearing that some misunderstanding had occurred between some of the Christian chiefs in Kesrouan, had taken possession of Ghazir under pretence of restoring order; so that the Turks may now be considered masters of the three most important points in the mountains. The French squadron, under Admiral La Susse, left that harbour on the 3rd instant for Smyrna, and the British ships Vanguard and Cambridge were to have sailed for Alexandria on the 4th. The best understanding had subsisted between the commanders of the two squadrons during their stay at Beyrout. The Druse chiefs were still prisoners, but treated with the greatest kindness by the Pasha and Beys. The building of the protestant church at Jerusalem was going on slowly; Bishop Alexander was not yet entirely recovered from his recent illness.

SERVIA.

The German papers give the following official documents respecting the recent revolt in Servia. Prince Michael, the representative of Servian independence, is thrown overboard by the republicans, and the Turks have availed themselves of the moment to countenance the establishment of a provisional government, in lieu of the hereditary right of government granted to Milosch and his family by the Hatti Scheriff of 1831.

"PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AT BELGRADE, SEPT. 9.
"It was known to the people that many abuses had been committed by the late government, against which the Sublime Porte protested, and respecting which the Senate often verbally and in writing remonstrated with the Prince; but, as he paid no attention to either, the Porte despatched once more the councillor of state, the noble Shekib Effendi, to Belgrade, to inquire into the matter. When this became known to the people, it desired to rise in a mass and come hither, in order to lay its complaints before him and the Prince, to which end those persons were summoned who were well known and enjoyed the confidence of the people, in order to serve as leaders. The people began to assemble, with the intent to come hither, and when the Prince heard of this he assembled troops to oppose them. It came to a battle; and when the Prince was convinced that he could not prevent the people from coming he fled to Semlin, and took with him some chiefs and ministers, leaving the land without a head. In order that the country be not longer kept without a head and a government, the primates of the people here present have, by common consent, organized a provisional government by the deed annexed (A), which has received the approbation and sanction of the representatives of his Highness the Sultan, his Excellency Kiamil Pasha, and his Excellency Shekib Effendi. The provisory government will, in consequence of this, act and in all things proceed in conformity with the 'Ustav.' By the present proclamation, therefore, all the temporal and clerical authorities and the whole people of Servia are acquainted that from this day all matters relating to the government are to be transacted with the president, Chevalier Abraham Petroniewicz, and Colonel Chevalier Thomas Vuceliez Pericicz; everybody is warned in future to obey implicitly this provisory government in all state matters, as

all authorities and branches of the public service are desired to address themselves to the same, that it may be respected as the legal power *ad interim*. The provisional government seizes this opportunity to recommend to all authorities and to the people to watch over the maintenance of tranquillity, peace, and order in the land.

"Chevalier ABRAHAM PETRONIEWICZ, President of the newly-organised provisional government.

"Colonel Chevalier THOMAS VUCZICZ PERICZICZ.

"Belgrade, Sept. 9."

(A.)

"To their Excellencies Kiamil Pasha, Governor of Belgrade, and the Commissary of the Sublime Porte, Shekib Effendi.

"Under the present circumstances, when this principality is without a government, because the Prince, with some of the members of his senate and the ministers, has left his country and his people, who wished to approach him with written petitions, and has gone over to the Austrian territories, the undersigned chiefs here present, desiring that the country and public business may not be abandoned in the manner they now are, and that the public tranquillity, which has been disturbed, may be restored, have resolved by common consent, and in the name of the whole people here assembled, to create a provisional government, to consist of the undersigned, and which shall conduct all the branches of the government. All acts proceeding from this provisional authority shall be signed by Abraham Petroniewicz, as president, and by Thomas Vuczicz Periczicz, as leader of the people, and respected by all the constituted authorities, the public officers, and the whole people.

"In bringing this resolution to the knowledge of your excellencies, as the representatives of his Highness our most gracious Sultan, the obedient undersigned beg for your approbation, that they may the more speedily proceed to assume the government and to the dispatch of business.

"Signed by ten of the principal Senators, and dated Belgrade, Aug. 27."

Accounts from Vienna of the 21st ultimo announce that Prince Michael and his family had, on the 15th, been declared to have forfeited all right to the sovereignty of Servia, in a general assembly of the chiefs of the Servian nation; and that Alexander Petrowitsch, aged eighteen (the son of Czerini Georges), a protégé of Russia, had been elected by acclamation in his stead. Kiamil Pasha, governor of Belgrade, and Chekib Effendi, the Ottoman commissioner, had given their sanction to this resolution; and Tartars had been immediately despatched to Constantinople for the fetva or act of deposition of Prince Michael, and the hatt-i-scheriff appointing the new sovereign of Servia.

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

A common hall was held on Thursday in the Guildhall, according to annual custom, for the purpose of proceeding to the election of two members of the court of aldermen, one of whom is selected by that court to serve the office of lord mayor for the year ensuing. In consequence of its being known that the return of Alderman T. Wood would not be permitted to take place without a contest, there was a great crowd collected outside the hall at an early hour. At ten minutes after one the Lord Mayor took the chair. The different civic authorities took their places on the platform, and the hall was opened in the usual form. The Common Sergeant then came forward, and said, "All you good men of the livery that would have Thomas Wood, Esq., alderman and framework-knitter, to be lord mayor for the year ensuing, will hold up your hands." Nearly three parts of the persons in the hall held up their hands amidst loud and prolonged cheering. The name of John Humphrey, Esq., alderman and tallow chandler, was then put in the same manner, and about half the meeting held up their hands. The remaining aldermen were then put in the same manner. The Common Sergeant then said that the sheriffs were of opinion that the election had fallen on Thomas Wood, Esq., alderman and framework-knitter, and John Humphrey, Esq., alderman and tallow chandler. This announcement was received with deafening shouts. No poll having been demanded, the sheriffs, common sergeant, and the other officers, then returned to the council room in order to report the election to the court of aldermen. After an absence of half an hour, the civic officers returned, and on their arrival on the platform, the Recorder came forward, and announced that the election had fallen on John Humphrey, Esq., alderman and tallow chandler.

CITY MANNERS.—Alderman Thomas Wood's rejection, by the court of alderman, has elicited from that sapient body, a curious disquisition upon the necessary qualifications of a chief magistrate of the city of London. We shall not say one word about Alderman Thomas Wood's connexion with the Talacre Mining company. That may or may not have been as incorrect and suspicious, as Lord Denman styled it. But over and above his connexion with this mining company, it appears that he was a poor man, and *propter hanc causam*, pronounced by his brothers Brown and Wilson, to be unfit to fill the civic chair. Indignantly did these two aldermanic Solons repudiate the idea of any man, unable to throw away a few thousand pounds, aiming at the mayoralty. Five thousand pounds is the annual sum allowed by the city to its mayor. But the city, masculine and feminine, expects that every lord mayor should disburse, at least, between three and four thousand more. "It cost me as much," said Alderman Wilson, "and from what I know of the high character of the present Lord Mayor (Pirie), it cannot have cost him much less." And how are these extra thousands laid out? In eating, drinking, and swilling; and unless a lord mayor can supply the gross appetites of guzzling corporators, he is quite unfit for his office. Think of the blank faces, and blighted hopes, a failure in Mansion house hospitality would produce! What sorrowful lamentations should we hear over the lost dignity of the first commercial city in the world! In venison, turtle, hock, burgundy, and champagne, city companies, common councilmen, and aldermen, perceive the only valuable elements of human dignity, and were they to vanish from the festive board, and,

"Like the baseless fabric of a vision,
Leave not a wreck behind,"

these worthies would exclaim with the French master of the ceremonies, when Minister Roland appeared at court without buckles in his shoes, "All is lost." Badinage apart, however, how truly disgusting is this civic fact. It is quite clear that the salary of the office of lord mayor ought to be equal to the legitimate expenditure, and so, perhaps, it is. But the vulgar habits have created an illegitimate expenditure, and so common has the practice become, and so great is the insensibility induced by long indulgence, that it is now unblushingly proclaimed in open court, and echoed by a virtuous press, that whoever is desirous of the office of lord mayor must not expect to assume the dignity unless he is prepared to give the dinners. Among the many reforms the city corporation would be the better for, a reformation of manners is not the least prominent.

On Friday Mr Alderman Hooper, and Jeremiah Pilcher, Esq., the sheriffs for the city of London, appeared in the court of Exchequer,

to receive her Majesty's approbation of the election which the citizens of London had made. On its being announced that the officers of the corporation had arrived, the cursitor baron, Mr George Bankes, took his seat on the bench. The court was crowded; a great number of ladies were present to witness the ceremony. The members of the corporation having taken their places, the usual address of the Recorder was delivered, to which the Cursitor Baron having replied, the usual ceremony of chopping sticks, and counting six horse-shoes and sixty-one hob nails, was performed by Mr Alderman Thomas Wood.

The election of vestry clerk for St Luke's has been brought to a termination, after a hard struggle of two days' duration. Upon the close of the first day's polling Mr Parsons was declared to be 176 ahead, and the last evening his majority was stated to have increased to 235 over his opponent, Mr Humphreys. The number of parishioners that polled was 825, a greater number than on any former occasion.

Last week, at a quarterly general court of East India proprietors, the principal motions intended for discussion were withdrawn; and, on the motion of the Chairman, the court adjourned without transacting any business.

APPREHENSION OF MR FEARGUS O'CONNOR.—Mr Feargus O'Connor was on Friday last apprehended by the police authorities, and lodged in custody on a charge of sedition. It appears, that in consequence of certain discoveries recently made by the magistracy of Manchester, it was determined by that body to issue a warrant for the apprehension of Mr O'Connor, and that the warrant was placed in the hands of an officer, who came to town for the purpose of effecting his capture. Mr O'Connor was taken at his own residence at Hampstead, and conveyed to the police station in Gardener's lane, Westminster. Mr Hall, the chief magistrate of Bow street, arrived shortly afterwards, for the purpose of taking a private examination of the prisoner. Mr Hall having returned to Bow street, the prisoner was examined before the chief magistrate in a private room; and on condition of his finding bail, himself in £1000, and two sureties of £500 each, Mr Hall promised to save him the trouble of going to Manchester. Mr O'Connor said the necessary bail should be forthcoming in the course of the afternoon. In the mean time he remained at Bow street. In the course of the evening Mr Cleave, of Shoe lane, Fleet street, and Mr Oldfield, of Bolt court, Fleet street, were accepted as sureties for Mr O'Connor, and after a description had been taken of the several letters which were found upon him, he left the court accompanied by his friends. At the same time John Archibald Campbell, who keeps a shop for the sale of cheap publications, High Holborn, was conveyed to Bow street, for the purpose of entering into recognisances on a charge of sedition at Manchester, in the month of August. The case was disposed of in the magistrate's private room.

In the City of London Registration court, Mr Christie gave a decision of some importance respecting residence. Mr Francis Collison, a freeman and liveryman of the Grocers' company, was struck off the list last year, on the ground that he had not resided in the district for six months before the registration. He now renewed his claim to be admitted on account of his dwelling-house in Size lane, the same for which his claim was rejected last year. It was objected, that he had by this time been abroad for two years consecutively, and that it was not even known when he would return. Mr Christie said that he had looked into the legal authorities on the subject; and he found the judges generally contending against disfranchisement. He came to the conclusion, that though a man might be absent, and even have gone to the East Indies, yet if his family were resident, as was the case with Mr Collison, and he was under no legal incapacity to return to his home, he must be taken to be resident.

An inquiry has for some weeks proceeded at the custom house, into alleged frauds by officers of the department, in concert with trading firms. Report says, "The enormous frauds now in daily progress of investigation are not, in the aggregate, confined to tens of thousands, but to hundreds of thousands of pounds. Indeed it is said in some quarters that the revenue has suffered to the extent of nearly a million sterling." Mr James Hastings, an officer in the customs, has been dismissed; and Mr William Burnby, Mr R. Homersham, Mr J. E. Foote, Mr Lang, Mr Poole, and Mr Rolls, have been suspended.

We have heard it stated that the long-established and wealthy firm of Baring, Brothers and Co. have returned their profits to the income tax commissioners, on the average of the last three years, at less than £150, and that they have requested the proper authorities to send clerks to examine their books and ascertain the correctness of the returns. This strange circumstance is attributed to their dealings with some of the repudiating states of America; it cannot, however, affect the stability of the house, for some of the partners are known to be the richest merchants in the world; but there are thousands of reputed rich firms in this country which could not afford to make such a return.—*Sun.*

PROVINCIAL.

The Duke of Buckingham, we are informed, has been resorting to a most discreditable method of purifying the constituency of Buckinghamshire. Messrs Chartfield and Parton, lawyers of Beaconsfield, have been employed to object to all liberal electors who, from residing at a distance, would not be likely to defend their votes. A great number of names have in this manner been expunged from the list of electors, without the slightest reason being required for calling in question claims which have been before acknowledged as valid. A gentleman whom we know has been at the trouble to go from London to keep his name on the register, but for which, without even the pretence of any ground for objection, he would have lost his vote. He complained that he had been called upon to appear in defence of a vote which the objector knew perfectly well was a good one; asserted that his claim had been questioned solely on account of his political opinions; and applied for his expenses. The revising barrister acknowledged that his vote ought not to have been objected to, but reserved the question of expenses for further consideration. Thus it is that the Reform bill enables the rich and dishonest to harass out of their votes independent men who are not prepared every year to spend time and money to keep them.

On Thursday last ten chartists were arrested in Manchester, on warrants granted at the instance of the government solicitors, on charges, it is said, of a very serious nature, arising out of the recent

outbreak in the manufacturing districts. It is said that the charges are of a much more grave character than any which have yet been made, and in which are included several leading chartists, amongst which are Feargus O'Connor himself. About one o'clock the stipendiary magistrate, Mr Maude, and several other magistrates, took their seats in the New Bailey court. There were also on the bench, Col. Wemyss, and Sir Charles Shaw. The following prisoners were then placed at the bar:—The Rev. James Scholefield, James Leech, John Massey, Richard Ramsden, Bernard M'Cartney, Thomas Raiton, Christopher Doyle, James Ellison, John Norman, and W. Scholefield. Mr Gregory, the solicitor employed by government, said the prisoners were charged with a conspiracy, along with a great number of others, not as yet in custody, and, under these circumstances, he had to apply, on the part of the Crown, that they should be remanded until Tuesday (yesterday). He declined stating the particulars of the charge, merely saying that it was of a much more serious nature than any yet brought against the chartists. The prisoners were remanded, except Mr Scholefield, who was admitted to bail. On Saturday an additional number of the chartists were apprehended in different parts of the kingdom on similar warrants, amongst others, the Rev. W. Hill, the editor of the *Northern Star*; James Arthur, bookseller of Carlisle; George Julian Harney, bookseller, of Sheffield; R. Otley, of Sheffield; and John Campbell, of London; five well-known chartist lecturers. They were placed before the magistrates on a charge of conspiracy, and remanded until Tuesday (yesterday).

On Monday and Tuesday, last week, a large meeting of the magistrates of the hundred of Pire hill was held at the Castle hotel, Newcastle, for the purpose of establishing a military depôt, and a protective police for the security of life and property during the ensuing winter. They were also engaged in devising means for affording a safe escort for the witnesses (forty in number) who are to leave Newcastle to attend the commission. At Newcastle and in the Potteries everything wears a quiet aspect.

On the 1st of October the municipal authorities of Manchester, Birmingham, and Bolton, undertook for the first time the direction and management of their own police. From 1839 to the present period, the police force of Manchester and Birmingham have been under the command of Sir Charles Shaw and Captain Burgess, commissioners appointed by government. It is understood that the authorities of Manchester have prepared a force of 250 men, who are to take the duty performed by Sir Charles Shaw's force, which, it is said, are to be disbanded. The arrangements with regard to Bolton have not transpired.

THE FIRE AT LIVERPOOL.—An inquest has been held on the bodies of three men who were killed by the falling of a wall. Though very laborious inquiries were made as to the origin of the fire, nothing was ascertained. A fire was found burning under a boiler on Mr Peniston's premises; but that was constantly left burning all night. The following verdict was returned—"We find that the three deceased parties were accidentally killed while they were employed in removing goods from a warehouse which was contiguous to one that was on fire, but how it became on fire no evidence doth appear; and we wish, at the same time, to clear Mr Peniston of the charge that his premises had been purposely set on fire by himself, or by the neglect of any of his servants." Patrick Doran, the marine store dealer whose shed was burned, has been arrested; and on Wednesday was examined before Mr Rushton on a charge of setting fire to the premises, which were insured for 500*l*. The chief facts brought out against him were these: On Friday night, when half drunk, he was at a neighbour's, and said in the hearing of one witness, "If his mistress had not been master of his place, it would have been burned long since—that he had five tons of oakum there, and that it would make a fine bonfire." Another heard him say, "It's a pity they were not all on fire at once; they shall be before a week is over." On Monday night, oakum daubed with oil and turpentine was found in the immediate vicinity of his shed. And when a woman went to alarm his family, she found him behind the half-open door of his house, as if hiding there. He was remanded, and again examined on Thursday. A labourer in his employ, swore that he, and not Doran, was the man who was behind the door when the family were alarmed; and several witnesses deposed that Doran was called from the Amphitheatre by the alarm of fire. He was again remanded till Friday, on which day, after hearing additional evidence, he was committed for trial.

STATE OF TRADE.—The trade of Leeds still continues dull for cloths of all descriptions, the principal demand being for heavy tweeds, fancy cloakings, shawls, and beaver cloths. Prices are stationary, and the stocks in the hands of the makers are unusually low. At Huddersfield the demand for all descriptions of goods is still very limited. Some American houses have been rather busier, but the general aspect of the market remains unchanged. At Rochdale there has been another good market, and pieces have been eagerly bought up at former prices. At Bradford there was as numerous an attendance of merchants as for several weeks past. The inquiries for goods were chiefly for the export trade, the home buyers purchasing very sparingly. There was not quite so good a demand for yarn; buyers acting with great caution, and offering lower rates, but this the spinners would not accede to. At Halifax the market was tolerably well attended by merchants, and a larger amount of business has been done in manufactured goods. The wool market continues dull, and prices barely supported. At Manchester very little business doing, accompanied with lower prices. Goods are now pouring in, in much greater quantities than the demand requires, and thus adding to the existing number of needy sellers. At Liverpool the market was very dull and flat, but there was no change to notice in the prices of any description.

A sensation was produced in Chard last week by the introduction of American pork and beef, retailed at from 3½*d*. to 4½*d*. per lb. The anxiety manifested to obtain cheap food was not slow in manifesting itself, and the first consignment of pork was cleared in a few hours. The quality of the American barreled provisions is excellent.

A correspondent of the *Western Times* says, that Westphalian beef has been imported into Plymouth and retailed at 4*d*. per lb. It is described as of excellent quality, and fully equal to English.

LITERATURE.

Female Prostitution, its Nature, Extent, Effects, Guilt, Causes, and Remedy. By RALPH WARDLAW, D.D. In Four Lectures. Delivered and Published by Special Request.

WHILE every reader, with even moderate pretensions to delicacy, will sympathise with Dr Wardlaw in his aversion to this repulsive subject; every reader, whose religious character is braced up to the Bible standard, will at once admit the force of those considerations which the lecturer urges as a vindication for placing himself before the public, in connexion with this disgusting branch of the morbid anatomy of man's moral nature.

Dr Wardlaw's sensitiveness comes forward with a placard, as it were, in the front of the building or title page, informing all passers by, that the task was not undertaken by him without "special request." It re-appears in the portico or preface, with a full copy of the requisition and names of 38 ministers of the gospel, and an intimation that this strong body-guard was reinforced by about 1,100 fellow-citizens of all religious persuasions, headed by the committee who projected and framed the memorial. On entering the building itself, the first words that salute us are these—

"MY LORD PROVOST, FELLOW-CITIZENS, AND FELLOW-CHRISTIANS—The subject on which I am about to address you, is one of the very last, as you may well suppose, which, if left to the freedom of my own will, I should have chosen for public discussion. But to this freedom I have not been left."

After describing the requisition, and showing the preponderance of conscience over inclination, and duty over wishes, the lecturer proceeds—

"In spite of the revolting character of the subject, I could not but be sensible that it was one of no ordinary importance as involving, to a vast extent, at once the present and eternal interests of individuals, and the morals and consequent well-being of the community. I shrunk from the task imposed upon me, but I shrunk still more sensitively from the possible reflection that might have loaded my spirit afterwards, of having 'left undone' what might, how feeble soever the execution, have contributed, by giving the first impulse to a series of future movements, to the accomplishment of those most desirable results, by the hope of which the respected requisitionists were influenced in presenting their requests."

We have been scrupulous in thus introducing Dr Wardlaw to our readers, in the attitude chosen by himself for his public appearance, because he evidently considers it a point of importance with respect to his ministerial usefulness; and because we are, ourselves, not less solicitous than Dr Wardlaw can be, to have it understood that we, like him, are impelled by the "dread and horror of contributing in any way (even by silence), to the continued subsistence and extension of this pandemonium—this hell upon earth—this dismal concentration of pollution, and guilt, and blasphemy, and wretchedness." To undermine the pillars of public morality by weakening the sense of public decency, is the detestable and unenvied vocation of some newspapers, which would be scouted out of existence, or drop into annihilation, if the community knew its own interests, or consulted its own dignity. The patronage afforded to these open violators of public decorum and domestic modesty, seems to have escaped Dr Wardlaw's penetrating eye, and we trust that, in a future edition, he will administer, *ex cathedra*, a well-merited flagellation to the upper circles. Yet squeamishness, never allied to energy, becomes something much worse than contemptible, when it interposes to check the generous flow of Christian faithfulness; and we, in common with every other "good hater" of this abomination, ask in the words of Dr Dwight, "Shall we be awed by the cry of indelicacy, originally raised by the most indelicate of mankind, only to keep the field open for its own malignant occupancy? Shall we not infinitely rather lay hold of every opportunity, and all the means furnished here and elsewhere, to rescue our fellow-creatures from destruction?" The whole passage, earnest, eloquent, and convincing, as quoted from Dr Dwight in the fourth lecture, should be deeply pondered by all who are either externally appointed, or inwardly constrained, to watch for souls.

If we could for a moment doubt whether, without our assistance, effective circulation would attend a work emanating from such an author, on such a subject, issued under such circumstances, and sold at so moderate a price, we should willingly lend our space and exertions to promote its object, by ample extracts and more detailed analysis. But we deem that course unnecessary. Our readers may assure themselves, upon our testimony, that however high their expectations may be raised, there is no danger of disappointment, as to the judicious treatment of the question in its multifarious ramifications. They will find that the lecturer brings to this momentous discussion, not only the right spirit, but the appropriate qualifications. The presiding spirit is as it ought to be—Christian horror at the sin—Christian solicitude for the souls of all the offenders, whether betrayers or betrayed—Christian single-mindedness in recommending scripture remedies for the evil. This spirit develops itself in a copious induction of facts—industrious use of public and private authorities—discriminating investigation of statistic statements, and sagacious sifting of theories, resulting in a succinct, yet complete exhibition of this serpentine monster in its stupendous dimensions and hideous foldings.

"I am come," says Dr Wardlaw, in opening his fourth lecture, "to that part of my subject towards which all that has preceded has been pointing, and without which it would be of little avail. I am to consider the means of prevention, mitigation, and removal." Among these means we single out for especial attention the society for the Protection of Young Females, because it affords the readiest means by which individuals can render themselves available to this great cause; and it would yield us inexpressible pleasure if, in consequence of our present exhortation, that society and its branches should receive an accession of moral and pecuniary force, from the well-disposed young men among our readers.

It will be seen from the following extract that Dr Wardlaw does not spare the greater criminal, in the sin of which he treats—

"Gentlemen—gentlemen—and must we indeed use the name in such an association? I can hardly bring myself to utter it. It is one of the disgraces and curses of modern society, that such paragons of heartless and lawless infamy should bear the designation—men, compared with whom the thief who picks their own pocket, and whom they would curse and kick into the kennel or order to the watchhouse, is a pattern of honour, and respectability, and worth."

Struck with the resemblance of this well-drawn portrait to the features of another set of honourable gentlemen, we are under heavy temptation to transgress our limits by inserting a parallel we had prepared. The partition is a very thin one which separates them as moral beings, and vanishes altogether when the right to the name of gentlemen is in question. Those who employ the power of their gold, the *prestige* of their rank, and the skill of their deception, in luring young women to their doom, are not easily distinguishable from those who set the same villanous machinery at work to debauch the electoral chastity of a constituency. Where is the "ductor dubitanti," the casuistical colourist, who will undertake to define the exact shade between the black and the jet black malignity of their demoralising influences upon the community? If the political prostitutionists, blinded by that delirium which perseverance in vice never fails to produce, should endeavour to quiet their consciences by the silly subterfuge that they, at heart, are not guilty of setting at defiance the express prohibition of the seventh commandment, let them inwardly digest the whole decalogue, and they will find as much reason as their compeers to stand afar off from the thunderings and lightnings of Mount Sinai, and to exclaim, "Let not God speak with us lest we die." If they, in their vain imaginings, fancy themselves on safer ground because they are not quite so near to the blood-guiltiness of infanticide and suicide, let them humble themselves in sackcloth and ashes at the appalling consciousness that their criminality, by poisoning the sources of honest legislation, vitiates the entire community; and by the force of diffusion, acquires a capacity of mischief equal to any intensity of concentration in particular offences.

The more closely these two classes of gentlemen are compared in the honesty, the justice, the purity, the loveliness, and the good report, of their virtuous and praiseworthy proceedings, the more conspicuously will their identity shine out before an insulted and indignant people.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

1. *Damascus*. By D. E. FORD.
2. *A Complaint*, a Poem.
3. *Sermon on Purgatory*. By Rev. J. C. BENTLEY.
4. *History of the Baptist Mission*. By Dr COX. 2 vols.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

The Rev. A. J. Morris, late of Salford, Manchester, has accepted the invitation of the congregational church at Holloway, to the pastoral office, and commenced his labours on Sunday last.

MIDHURST.—At the pretty little chapel in the town of Midhurst, in the county of Sussex, a jubilee meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society was held on Thursday evening, Sept. 9, Thomas Pewtress, Esq., in the chair. A hymn having been sung, the Rev. W. Malden, of Chichester, was called on to implore the divine benediction. A short report of the society's proceedings was then read by the Rev. Mr Davies of Lewes. The meeting, which was highly interesting, and protracted to a late hour, was addressed by the Rev. Messrs Edmonds, Edwin, Morgan, Davies, Benson, Malden, and E. Carey of London; who proposed and seconded various appropriate resolutions, which were unanimously adopted. The collection at the close, in aid of the jubilee fund, was nearly ten pounds.

On Thursday, the 22nd ult., the Rev. J. Harrop was ordained to the pastoral office over the congregational church at Richmond, Yorkshire. The Rev. R. C. Pritchett of Darlington read the scriptures; the Rev. J. Harrison of Barnard Castle delivered the introductory discourse; the Rev. J. Jackson of Greenhammerton asked the questions, and offered up the ordination prayer; the Rev. W. H. Stowell, theological tutor of Rotherham college, gave the charge to the minister. In the evening a sermon was preached by the Rev. John Ely of Leeds. The chapel was crowded on both occasions.

The new chapel, for the use of the new congregational church at Romney, was opened for divine service on Friday, Sept. 9. In the morning the Revds M. Jones of Vorty, and J. Hughes of Dowlais, preached; at two, the Rev. R. Jones of Sirhowy, and the Rev. E. Griffith of Merthyr, preached in English, and the Rev. H. Jones, of Tredgar, in Welsh; in the evening, at six, Mr Jones of Merthyr, and the Rev. W. Watkins of Rumney, preached.

At the Roman Catholic chapel, Stamford, on Sunday last, four persons publicly renounced the protestant religion, and made declaration of the catholic faith.—*Stamford Mercury*.

BIRTH.

Sept. 30, the wife of the Rev. E. S. PRYCE, Abingdon, of a son.

MARRIAGES.

Sept. 29, at the Friends' meeting house, Stoke Newington, FRANCIS, son of JOHN D. BASSETT, of Leighton Buzzard, to ELLEN, daughter of Edward HARRIS, of Paradise row, Stoke Newington.

Sept. 28, at Hanover chapel, Peckham, by the Rev. Dr Collyer, FREDERICK, youngest son of William REED, Esq., of Peckham Rye, to MARY ANNE, fourth daughter of Thomas NAPIER, Esq., of Rye lane.

DEATH.

Sept. 29, at Leicester, the wife of the Rev. S. WIGG, general baptist minister.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, Sept. 30.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act of 6 and 7 Wm IV., cap. 85:—
Zion chapel, Seasalter, Kent. G. Eastes, superintendent registrar.

INSOLVENT.

SIMSON, STEPHEN, late of Southampton, but now of Shirley, Southampton, market gardener, Sept. 30.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

ROTHE, GEORGE EATON, 16, New Broad street, City, and Victoria road, Pimlico, merchant.

BLUMENTHAL, ADOLPHUS, Birmingham, wine merchant, to surrender Oct. 10, Nov. 11: solicitors, Messrs Chilton and Acland, 7, Chancery lane, London, and Mr J. Suckling, Birmingham.

FISHER, JAMES, and MILNER, WILLIAM, Norwich, drapers, Oct. 10, Nov. 11: solicitor, Mr Ashurst, Cheapside, London.

HARRISON, HENRY THOMAS, Tavistock row, Covent garden, hotel keeper, Oct. 11, Nov. 11: solicitor, Mr Ford, 5, Bloomsbury square.

LEWIN, RICHARD, Northampton, leather seller, Oct. 7, Nov. 11: solicitors, Mr G Rands, Northampton, and Mr Cross, 3, Essex court, Temple, London.

SANDON, FRANCIS, Rugeley, Staffordshire, cabinet maker, Oct. 29, Nov. 11: solicitors, Mr Smith, 22, Bedford row, London, and Mr F. Crabb, Rugeley.

URQUHART, WILLIAM, late of Calcutta, in the East Indies, but now of 4, Wellington street, Strand, London, merchant, Oct. 10, Nov. 11: solicitors, Messrs Simpson and Cobb, Austin friars.

YARRAD, JOHN, jun., Spalding, Lincolnshire, grocer, Oct. 15, Nov. 11: solicitors, Messrs Thompson and Co., Salters' hall, London.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CRAWFORD, WILLIAM, Dundee, ironmonger, Oct. 7, Nov. 1.

DUNCAN, ARCHIBALD, Glasgow, slater, Oct. 3, 24.

ELLIOTT, JOHN, Edinburgh, lately merchant, Oct. 3, 31.

HUTCHISON, JOHN, Leith, merchant, Oct. 6, Nov. 1.

TAYLOR, JOHN, Cambusbarron, near Stirling, manufacturer, Oct. 6, 27.

DIVIDENDS.

Oct. 24, Nicholls, Adam's mews, Edgware road, Middlesex, livery stable keeper—Oct. 12, W. H. H., and D. King, Old street road, and Horns row, Shoreditch, Middlesex, coach builders—Nov. 5, Irvine, Liverpool, salt broker and commission agent—Nov. 5, Slater, Marton, Cheshire, banker—Nov. 5, Antrobus, Great Budworth, Cheshire, salt merchant—Oct. 27, Fairclough, Liverpool, engineer and iron founder—Oct. 21, Stead, Leeds, saddler—Oct. 24, Shirley, Kinfare, Staffordshire, worsted yarn manufacturer—Oct. 27, Turner, Northampton, shoe manufacturer—Nov. 4, Smith, Thorne, Yorkshire, draper and grocer—Nov. 2, Singleton, Kirkham, Lancashire, flax and tow spinner—Oct. 25, Ridge and Co., Chichester, Sussex, bankers—Oct. 25, Phipson, Selly hall, Northfield, Worcestershire, dealers in metals—Oct. 24, Hingley, Cradley, Worcestershire, and Liverpool, chain, trace, and cable manufacturer—Oct. 25, A. and R. Procter, Kingston-upon-Hull, coach proprietors—Oct. 24, Vickers, Holywell, Flintshire, nurseryman—Nov. 4, Barlow, Lichfield, ironmonger and cutler—Oct. 24, Radenhurst, Birmingham, innkeeper—Oct. 26, Cornes, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire, ironmonger—Oct. 25, Court and Harrison, Blackburn, Lancashire, cotton spinners—Nov. 10, North, Leeds, merchant—Nov. 10, Austin, Armley, Yorkshire, cloth manufacturer—Oct. 21, Doxford, Bishopwearmouth, and Monkwearmouth shore, Durham, ship builder—Oct. 25, Gillies, Hartlepool, Durham, ship owner and merchant—Oct. 21, Wilson, Liverpool, fancy shawl dealer—Oct. 22, Shuckard, Preston, Sussex, brewer—Nov. 2, W. and J. Statters, Mellor, Lancashire, cotton spinners—Oct. 24, H. and J. Gibbs, Birmingham, button makers—Oct. 24, Caldwell and Smyth, Liverpool, and Forbes and Gregory, London, bankers—Oct. 24, Burbey, Portsmouth, Southampton, banker and merchant—Oct. 26, Blease, Liverpool, and Wiseman, now or late of St Vincent, West Indies, merchants—Nov. 5, Wilby, Ossett, Yorkshire, cloth manufacturer—Nov. 5, Wilkinson, Leeds, grocer—Oct. 31, Downing, Sheffield, draper—Oct. 24, Hartnell, Rodborough, Gloucestershire, common carrier—Oct. 22, Holden, Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, ironmonger—Nov. 4, Tatham, late of Settle, but now of Burton-in-Lonsdale, Yorkshire, lime burner—Oct. 24, Clarke, Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant—Oct. 24, Williams and Nevill, Birmingham, factors—Oct. 22, Insoll, Brighton, coach maker—Oct. 24, Bennett, Kidderminster, Worcestershire, timber merchant—Oct. 24, Edisbury, Holywell, Flintshire, grocer—Oct. 24, Beattie, Gosport, Southampton, coal merchant—Oct. 21, Field, Moreton-in-the-Marsh, Gloucestershire, corn merchant—Oct. 24, Wilson, Wickhambrook, Suffolk, innkeeper—Oct. 24, Crickmay, late of Portsmouth, Hants, gun manufacturer—Oct. 22, Scampton, Coventry, grocer—Oct. 24, Sparham, late of Troston, Suffolk, miller—Nov. 9, Emerson, Manchester, thread manufacturer—Nov. 7, Austin, late of Broughton, but now of Manchester, and of Hulme, Lancashire, coach proprietor—Nov. 2, Parkin and Co., Hightown, Yorkshire, cotton warp doublers—Nov. 5, C. Webster, sen., now or late of Hulme, Lancashire, banker—Nov. 5, Wright, Manchester, commission agent—Oct. 25, Charnley, Liverpool, merchant—Nov. 4, Hounsfield, Manchester, commission merchant—Oct. 25, Lawless, Manchester, commission agent—Oct. 24, Brocklehurst and Co., Liverpool, millwrights—Oct. 21, Holt and Givens, Monkwearmouth, Durham, common brewers—Nov. 1, Willan, Bollington, Cheshire, linen draper—Oct. 24, Dale and Atkin, Manchester, manufacturing chemists—Nov. 2, Adshead, Manchester, wholesale hosier—Nov. 4, Porter, Nantwich, Cheshire, tailor—Nov. 2, Walker and Peel, Manchester, Scotch and Manchester warehousemen—Oct. 24, Groves, Manchester, warehouseman—Nov. 2, Gratrix, Preston, Lancashire, machine maker—Nov. 8, Parker, Manchester and Salford, Lancashire, cotton spinner and manufacturer—Nov. 3, Leigh, Manchester, warehouseman and commission agent—Oct. 21, Thompson, Sunderland, Durham, chain and anchor manufacturer—Oct. 31, Hansard, Bristol, baker and seedsman—Nov. 4, Holdforth and Bald, Liverpool, commission merchants—Oct. 26, J. Molyneux, sen., Liverpool, professor of music—Oct. 24, Nicholson, Rise-in-Holderness, Yorkshire—Oct. 24, C. S. and W. Heywood, Manchester, warehousemen—Oct. 26, Buchanan, Dursley, Gloucestershire, money scrivener—Oct. 28, Havard, Swansea, Glamorganshire, grocer—Oct. 28, Morris, Newbridge, Glamorganshire, grocer and draper—Oct. 25, H. and A. F. Mackay, of Liverpool, Glasgow, and St John's, New Brunswick, merchants.

CERTIFICATES—OCT. 21.

Murray, Church street, St Mary, Newington, Surrey, leather seller, and of Great George street, Bermondsey, enameler of leather—Snowdon, North Shields, Northumberland, grocer and tallow chandler—Trubridge, Swindon, Wiltshire, grocer—T. and W. Wilson, Manchester, hat trimming manufacturers—Williams, Much Cowarne, Herefordshire, corn dealer—Clark, Portman street, Portman square, Middlesex, auctioneer.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

Jones and Rylance, Whitefield, Lancashire, colour makers—Graham and Taylor, Liverpool, commission merchants—Artus and Israel, Duncannon street, Trafalgar square, wholesale and retail tobacconists—Harsnets and Eaton, boot and shoe makers, Liverpool—Briscoe and Robinson, Liverpool, dealers in horses—W. K. and A. Welch, 31, Warwick street, Regent street, button sellers—B. and J. Garside, Radford, Nottinghamshire, timber merchants—G., R., and J. Garrod, Ipswich, wine merchants—May and Brown, Reading, Berkshire, chemists—B. and J. Holland, Manchester, commission agents—Luce and Allen, Southampton, general outfitters—Gilbert and Johns, late of Eight Locks colliery, Great Bridge, Staffordshire, and of Wotton's Lane colliery, West Bromwich, coal masters—Bland and Wright, Commercial Sale rooms, Mincing lane, City, tea inspectors—Radford and Smith, High Holborn, linen drapers—Bodemann and Rohrweger, 1, John street, America square, merchants—Brown and Quick, Bristol, tavern keepers—Atlay and Charlesworth, Sheriff Hutton bridge, Yorkshire, brick makers—Cottam and Co., Mill wall, Poplar, and 19, Abchurch lane, City, patent railway and other wheel manufacturers—Flersheim and Moller, Manchester, commission agents—Maddock and Whitby, Radford, Nottinghamshire, lace makers—Lewis and Co., brewers (so far as regards Sandeman)—James and Bruton, Falmouth, Cornwall, carrying on a ladies' school—Geething and Co., Leabrook, Staffordshire, coal masters—W. and R. Entwisle, Halshaw moor, near Bolton, Lancashire, nankeen manufacturers—Bird, Hincheliff, and Coatman—Salter and Wheeler, Bath, nurserymen—Titford and Rickett, Bridge wharf, Cambridge heath, coal merchants—Jee and Co., Liverpool, brokers—Major and Parker, Kingston-upon-Hull, commission agents—Evans and Fincher, Birmingham, drapers—G. and T. Brace, 24, Surrey street, Strand, attorneys—Powell and Bell, John street, Berkeley square, surgeons—Pretty and Thornton, Leicester, grocers.

Tuesday, October 4.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act of 6 and 7 Wm IV., cap. 85:—

St Marie's catholic church, Bury, Lancashire. William Harper, superintendent registrar.

St Mary's chapel, Llanarth, Monmouthshire. William F. Balt, superintendent registrar.

The Caledonian chapel, Ridley Villas, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Thomas Brown, superintendent registrar.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

GOODE, THOMAS SMITH, Manchester, merchant.

RALEIGH, JOSEPH, and GOODE, THOMAS SMITH, Manchester, merchants.

BANKRUPTS.

HARGREAVES, BENJAMIN, Manchester, tailor, Oct. 15, Nov. 15: solicitor, Mr Robert Blackmore, 3, St Martin's place, Charingcross, London.

HARRIS, RICE, Birmingham, glass manufacturer, Oct. 10, Nov. 15: solicitors, Messrs Arnold, Haines, and Arnold, and Messrs Ingleby, Wragge, and Cope, Birmingham.

MATHE, ANTONIO, and MOORE, STEPHEN, Liverpool, merchants, Oct. 20, Nov. 15: solicitors, Mr John Thompson, Liverpool, and Messrs Cuvelje and Co., Southampton buildings, Chancery lane, London.

PEARSON, MARK, Workington, Cumberland, chemist, Oct. 31, Nov. 16; solicitors, Mr Elder, 17, Clement's inn, London, and Messrs Armistead and Musgrave, Whitehaven.

THORP, SAMUEL, Manchester, merchant, Oct. 24, Nov. 15; solicitors, Messrs R. M. and C. Baxter, 48, Lincoln's-inn-fields, London, and Messrs Sale and Worthington, Manchester.

WOOD, JASPER BENJAMIN, Liverpool, optician, Oct. 18, Nov. 15; solicitors, Messrs Hall and Co., 2, Verulam buildings, Gray's inn, London, and Mr Neal, Liverpool.

YOUNGER, SAMUEL, Great Tower street, City, merchant, Oct. 15, Nov. 15; solicitors, Messrs Bourdillon and Sons, 30, Great Winchester street.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

DONALDSON, HENRY, Dunfermline, Fifeshire, manufacturer, Oct. 10, 31.

HUTCHINSON, JOHN, Leith, merchant, Oct. 6, Nov. 1.

HYMERS, GEORGE, and HYMERS, JAMES, Galashiels, manufacturers, Oct. 11, Nov. 1.

STEVEN, EBENEZER, WALKER, JOHN, jun., and WALKER, DANIEL, Glasgow, cotton spinners, Oct. 10, 31.

WALKER, GABRIEL, and FORRESTER, JOHN, Glasgow, merchants, Oct. 10, 31.

DIVIDENDS.

Oct. 25, Burgie, Beer lane, Tower street, City, carpenter—Oct. 25, Thompson, late of 104, but now of 118, Wood street, Cheapside, City, warehouseman—Oct. 26, Forge, Billingsgate, Lower Thames street, City, fish salesman—Oct. 26, Smith, Green Dragon inn, Hertford, wine merchant—Oct. 26, Cooper, High street, St Giles's and Piccadilly, stationer—Oct. 26, Gooding, Chatham, Kent, boot maker—Oct. 25, Fellman, Fore street, Limehouse, brewer—Oct. 26, Moulson and Co., Liverpool, merchants—Oct. 25, Barrow, Ashton-under-Lyne, innkeeper—Oct. 25, Manson, Liverpool and Rio de Janeiro, merchant—Oct. 27, Layton, Leeds, fruit merchant—Oct. 26, Cook, Lincoln, innkeeper—Oct. 26, Walker, Burton-upon-Trent, mercer—Oct. 28, Turley, Bilston, Staffordshire, iron master—Oct. 26, Williams, Bontneydd, Carnarvonshire, shopkeeper—Oct. 27, Batson and Bissell, Lea Brook New Iron works, Staffordshire, iron masters—Oct. 26, Goodwin, Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant—Oct. 26, Chancellor, jun., Margate, Kent, baker—Oct. 28, Butler, Walsall, Staffordshire, saddler's ironmonger—Oct. 28, Webb, Forebridge, Staffordshire, corn dealer—Oct. 27, Wright and Hyde, Nottingham, dyers—Oct. 27, Barker, Nottingham, hosier—Oct. 27, Price and Rollason, Birmingham, glass manufacturers—Oct. 27, Chapman, Birmingham, and Kenning, Bordesley, Warwickshire, fire iron makers—Oct. 27, Ryland, jun., Birmingham, mill maker—Oct. 26, Messenger, late of Liverpool, corn merchant—Nov. 4, Bulmer, Leith, dealer—Nov. 1, Aspinall, Southouram, Yorkshire, worsted spinner—Oct. 29, M. Heathfield, Old Broad street, London, R. Heathfield, Sheffield, Yorkshire, and T. Heathfield, Tiverton, Devonshire, cotton spinners—Oct. 27, Gribble, Ashburton, Devonshire, scrivener—Oct. 25, Vickers, Manchester, publican—Oct. 25, Fowler, Manchester, distiller—Oct. 26, Hayward, Milverton, Warwickshire, miller—Oct. 28, Sargent, Battle, Sussex, linen draper—Oct. 26, Turner and Co., Liverpool, merchants—Oct. 27, Winterbottom, Heaton Norris, Lancashire, banker—Oct. 27, Hancock, Bath, brush manufacturer—Oct. 27, Lowndes and Co., Manchester, cotton merchants—Oct. 25, Stubbs, Caistor, Lincolnshire, linen draper—Oct. 28, Walker and Co., Leeds, Yorkshire, stuff merchants—Oct. 28, Willoughby, York, builder—Oct. 29, Carss, Bury Saint Edmunds, Suffolk, banker—Oct. 31, Hurley, Woburn, Bedfordshire, plumber—Oct. 28, Enoch, Warwick, boot maker—Oct. 28, Peace, Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, builder—Oct. 26, Webber, Lincoln, tailor—Nov. 4, Stafford, Doncaster, Yorkshire, printer—Oct. 27, Nicholl, jun., Redruth, Cornwall, grocer—Oct. 27, Milner and Bedford, Kingston-upon-Hull, confectioners—Oct. 26, Nutter, Cambridge, miller—Oct. 27, Eberhardt, Sedgley, Staffordshire, dealer in iron—Oct. 28, Hodgkinson, Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, builder—Oct. 31, Poore, Hampton, Devonshire, druggist—Oct. 25, Jacques, Cotton, and Oliver, Nottingham, hosiers—Oct. 27, Gill and Wheelwright, Leeds, dyers—Oct. 25, Hall and Toone, Nottingham, lace manufacturers—Oct. 28, Harrison, Gateshead, Durham, paper manufacturer—Oct. 28, Cornforth, jun., Holbeck, Yorkshire, flax spinner—Oct. 27, J. and B. Whaley, Leeds, wool merchants—Oct. 31, Baker, Newton Bushell, Devonshire, banker—Oct. 28, Bushell, Evesham, Worcestershire, innkeeper—Oct. 27, Robinson, Kingston-upon-Hull, scrivener—Oct. 27, Robinson, late of Stone, Staffordshire, wine merchant—Nov. 5, Smith, Edgely, and Smith, Manchester, Scotch and Manchester warehousemen—Nov. 5, Buckley, Manchester, and Todmorden, Lancashire, cotton manufacturer—Nov. 7, Buckley, Manchester and Todmorden, Lancashire, cotton manufacturer—Nov. 8, Buckley, Manchester and Todmorden, Lancashire, cotton manufacturer—Nov. 5, Scholes, of Manchester and Denshaw-vale, near Saddleworth, Yorkshire, calico printer—Oct. 28, Baker, Woodlands, Somersetshire, scrivener—Nov. 10, Mills, Heywood, Lancashire, ironfounder—Nov. 3, Carden, Bristol, merchant—Nov. 1, Gidden, Farringdon, Berkshire, licensed victualer—Nov. 2, Greenaway, Bristol, painter—Nov. 1, Chaloner, of Chester, currier—Oct. 28, Franklin, Liverpool, merchant—Oct. 26, Benbow, Liverpool, timber merchant—Oct. 27, Blackett, Stokesley, Yorkshire, flax spinner—Oct. 29, Mahoney and Slattery, Liverpool, merchants—E. P. B., and J. A. Cooper, Staverton mills, Trowbridge Wiltshire, clothiers—Oct. 26, Metivier, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, cloth factor.

CERTIFICATES—OCT. 25.

Harrison, Bristol, mason and builder—Nicol, late of Batavia, Java, East Indies, but now of 17, Adam street, Adelphi, Middlesex, merchant—Frank, Maesbury hall, Oswestry, Shropshire, barytes manufacturer and canal carrier—Wilkinson, Manchester, dealer in toys and hardwares—Williams, Alvington, Gloucestershire, farmer and maltster—Emans, 43, Aldersgate street, City, bookseller—Davies, Wrexham, Denbighshire, grocer and tallow chandler—J. and A. Y. Barrett, Kingston-upon-Hull, engine and boiler manufacturers—G. and W. Boyd, Kingston-upon-Hull, millwrights—Nurse, Duddridge wharf, Stonehouse, Gloucestershire, coal merchant.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

Jones and Martin, 29, Fort street, Old Artillery ground, Middlesex, silk manufacturers—R. and W. Michell, Truro, merchants—T. and B. Baker, Cobham, Kent, wheelwrights—Dawe and Rosekilly, Callington, Cornwall, linen and woolen drapers—Claude and Giffin, 80, Wardour street, Soho, Middlesex, jewel case makers—E. and E. P. Halse, Crescent, Jewin street, Cripplegate, merchants—Mannering, 6, Upper Penton street, Pentonville, and Nicholson, 8, Crescent, Hackney road, Middlesex, linen drapers and tailors—Liberty and Coolidge, Chertsey, Surrey, auctioneers and land agents—Nuttall and Hodgson, 1, Gough square, Fleet street, City, printers—G. and H. Toyn, 65, Shoreditch, linen drapers—Lowe and Co., 22, Southampton buildings, Chancery lane, attorneys—Barker and Co., Burslem, Staffordshire, earthenware manufacturers (so far as regards Sutton)—Levy and Benjamin, 77, Leman street, Goodman's fields, Middlesex, furriers—Benassit and Target, Back road, St George's East, Middlesex, sugar refiners—Merson and Hetherington, Sampford Peverell, Devonshire, surgeons—H. and T. Smith, Liverpool, brass founders—Corbett and Insole, jun., Worcester, attorneys—Simonds and Sydenham, Dorchester, printers—Smith and Co., Woodlands, Madeley, Shropshire, brick and tile manufacturers—Dodson and Co., Dolphinholme, Lancashire, woolstaplers and worsted spinners (so far as regards Derham)—Curme and Joyce, Trowbridge, Wiltshire, brewers, maltsters, and wine and spirit merchants.

BRITISH FUNDS.

Business has been slack in the stock market for the last few days, and prices suffered a slight decline at the end of last week; but they have since in some degree recovered.

	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols	92½	92½	92½	93	93	93
Ditto for account	92½	92½	93	93	93	93
3 per cents. Reduced	—	—	—	—	—	—
3½ per cents. Reduced	—	—	—	—	—	—
New 3½ per cent.	100½	100½	100½	100½	101	101
Long Annuities	—	12½	—	—	—	—
Bank Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
India Stock	249	249	249	247½	—	—
Exchequer Bills	50 pm	49 pm	49 pm	51 pm	51 pm	51 pm
India Bonds, 3 per cent.	36 pm	36 pm	—	—	—	—

SHARES.

SHARES.

Railways—		London and Brighton	35
Birmingham and Derby	41	London and Croydon Trunk ..	10
Birmingham and Gloucester	43	London and Greenwich	5
Blackwall	6½	Ditto New	15
Bristol and Exeter	46	Manchester and Birmingham ..	—
Cheltenham and Gt. Western	20	Manchester and Leeds	73
Eastern Counties	8½	Midland Counties.....	59½
Edinburgh and Glasgow	47½	Ditto Quarter Shares	—
Great North of England	—	North Midland	57
Great Western	82	Ditto New	—
Ditto New	59½	South Eastern and Dover	23
Ditto Fifths	7½	South Western	58
London and Birmingham	183½	Ditto New	—
Ditto Quarter Shares	47½		

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Austrian	112	Mexican	35
Belgian	103	Peruvian	16½
Brazilian	67	Portuguese 5 per cents	35½
Buenos Ayres	20½	Ditto 3 per cents	21
Columbian	20½	Russian	112½
Danish	84½	Spanish Active	15½
Dutch 2½ per cents	51½	Ditto Passive	4
Ditto 5 per cents	102½	Ditto Deferred	9½

MARKETS.

GRAIN, MARK LANE, Oct. 3.

There was a good show of wheat this morning. Former prices were asked, and a clearance was made before the close of the market, at the rates of Monday last. Barley, beans, and peas moved off rather slowly, at about former terms. The fresh arrivals of oats were moderate; and though the demand was not active the prices of this day week were supported.

	s.	d.		s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat, Red New	46	to 52	Malt, Ordinary	50	to —	Beans, Pigeon	34	to 38
Fine	50	to 56	Pale	56	to 60	Harrow	32	to 34
White	48	to 52	Peas, Hog	28	to 30	Oats, Feed	17	to 20
Fine	54	to 62	Maple	30	to 32	Fine	20	to 22
Rye	32	to 36	Boilers	31	to 34	Poland	21	to 24
Barley	22	to 26	Beans, Ticks	27	to 32	Potato	21	to 24
Malting	31	to 34						

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR SEPT. 30.

AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF SIX WEEKS.

DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN FOR THE PRESENT WEEK.

For rapeseed there was a retail demand, and previous rates were readily paid. Linseed was also quite as dear. With canaryseed we were rather liberally supplied, and prices must be quoted lower. Tares hung on hand, though offered at a slight abatement.

Linseed, English, sowing	48s. to 56s. per qr	Coriander	10s. to 16s. per wt
Baltic, ditto	—	Old	16
Ditto, crushing	42	Canary, new	70
Mediter. and Odessa	45	Extra	75
Clover, English, red	—	Caraway, old	—
Ditto, white	—	New	42
Flemish, red	—	Mustard, brown, new	10
Ditto, white	—	White	10
New Hamburg, red	—	Trefoil	18
Ditto, white	—	Rye grass, English	30
Old Hamburg, red	—	Scotch	18
Ditto, white	—	Tares, winter	—
French, red	—	New	5
Ditto, white	—	Rapeseed, English, new	31½
Hempseed, small	35	Linseed cakes, English	10½
Large	46	Foreign	7½
		Rapeseed cakes	5½

PROVISIONS, LONDON, Oct. 3.

The butter market has been dull, the transactions few, and prices rather lower. Carlow, 86s. to 93s.; Waterford, 80s. to 83s.; Carrick, 86s. to 88s.; Limerick, 76s. to 78s. on board. Foreign—Friesland, 104s. to 106s.; Kiel, 94s. to 100s. Bacon in request. Anything passable in quality finds ready buyers at 44s. to 50s.; inferior also in better sale and price. New eagerly sought after, at 56s. to 58s. landed, at 54s. to 55s. shipped, and at 51s. on board for early shipment this month. Of bale and tierce middles we have nothing new to notice. Hams of fine quality are fully saleable at 70s. to 80s. per cwt, as in size and quality; and lard, 68s. to 70s. landed. Beef and pork in demand, for home consumption and export, at improved prices.

HOPS, BOROUGH, Oct. 3.

There is not much business doing in the hop market, at the following rates for this year's growth:—East Kent, £6 to £7 7s.; Mid. Kent, £5 5s. to £6 15s.; Weald of Kent, £4 14s. to £5 5s.; and Kent Goldings, £8 per cwt: Sussex, £4 10s. to £4 16s. The duty is £155,000 to £160,000.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, Oct. 3.

The supply of beasts was large, and more than adequate to the demand, which was dull: the rates may be quoted lower by 2d. per stone. The number of sheep was large; but notwithstanding a somewhat duller demand, the prices of Monday last were firmly maintained.

Beef	3s. 0d. to 4s. 4d.	Veal	4s. 0d. to 5s. 2d.
Mutton	3 2 to 4 4	Pork	4 0 to 5 0

	Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.
Friday	674	7,000	270	487
Monday	3,902	27,800	111	615

NEWGATE and LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, Oct. 3.

	Per lbs. by the carcass.		Per lbs. by the carcass.
Inferior Beef	3s. 2d. to 3s. 4d.	Inferior Mutton	3s. 6d. to 3s. 8d.
Middling ditto	3 4 to 3 6	Middling ditto	3 10 to 4 0
Prime large ditto	3 6 to 3 8	Prime ditto	4 0 to 4 2
Prime small ditto	3 8 to 3 10	Veal	4 0 to 4 10
Large Pork	4 0 to 4 6	Small Pork	4 8 to 4 10
Lamb	4s. 2d. to 4s. 8d.		

POTATOES, BOROUGH, Monday, Oct. 3.

The arrivals for the past week are as follows: viz., from Yorkshire, 125 tons; Scotland, 250; Devons, 165; Kent, Essex, and Suffolk, 150; Spalding, 65; Jersey and Guernsey, 255; Cherbourg (France), 90; total, 1100 tons. The samples offering this week were generally of good quality, and the buyers are now beginning to look to the water side for their supplies.

York reds	s. to 70s.	Kent, Essex, and Suffolk whites	45s. to 50s.
Scotch ditto	60	Jersey and Guernsey ditto	40
Devons	60	Cherbourg (French whites)	40

WOOL.

Sales of combing wools continue very limited, and late prices are with difficulty maintained. In clothing wools we have not any alteration to report, either in demand or prices.

Down ewes and wethers	0s. 10d. to 0s. 10½d.	Half-bred hogs	1s. 0d. to 1s. 0½d.
Down teggs	0 11 to 1 0	Flannel wool	0 8½ to 1 0
Half-bred wethers	0 10 to 0 11	Blanket wool	0 5 to 0 7½

HAY, SMITHFIELD, Oct. 1.—At per load of 36 trusses.

Coarse Meadow Hay	65s. to 80s.	New Clover Hay	85s. to 112s.
New ditto	—	Old ditto	—
Useful old ditto	84	Oat Straw	36
Fine Upland and Rye Grass	90	Wheat Straw	38

COAL EXCHANGE, Oct. 3.

Hetton's, 21s.; Lambton's, 21s.; Stewart's, 21s. 3d.; Hartlepool, 21s. Ships arrived this week, 220.

GROCERIES, TUESDAY, Oct. 4.

TEA.—The market was in a dull state, and the public sales went off heavily, and at rather lower rates for both black and green tea. 1s. 7½d. was the value of common sound Congou.

COFFEE.—Prices have again given way 3s. per cwt for British plantation, the demand having been limited and supply good. This afternoon importers of coffee were desirous to realise, and brought forward large parcels. The trade evinced little desire to operate, and the public sales went off heavily. By private contract this afternoon 62s. accepted for good ord. Ceylon, cash.

SUGAR.—The market was in a dull state, and the purchases made were very limited both by refiners and grocers. Fine yellow sorts sustained the rates of Friday, but all other sorts declined in value 6d. per cwt. This afternoon the biddings were languid at a public sale of 100 hhds Barbadoes sugar, and a part only sold at a decline on the rates of the last auction of 6d. per cwt.

TALLOW.—Prices were firm and the demand good; 48s. 3d. for P. Y. candle on the spot, and 48s. for delivery up to the close of the year.

On the 1st of October, No. 6 of
THE VICAR'S LANTERN: a Monthly
 Periodical. Price One Penny.

"It is a light kindled to disperse ecclesiastical darkness, and serving to aid the reader in more minutely inspecting the pompous pretensions of vicars, rectors, archdeacons, bishops, *et id genus omne*. We cordially wish it all the success which we think it deserves."—*Nonconformist*.

"The sentiments which radiate from 'The Vicar's Lantern' are enlightened, free, just, and charitable."—*Bolton Free Press*.

London: W. STRANGE, 21, Paternosterrow. JESSE HULL, Rochdale; and all Booksellers.

BAPTIST MISSION IN JAMAICA.

On Monday, October 10, will be published,
A REVIEW of the Rev. W. G. BARRETT'S PAMPHLET, entitled, "A Reply to the Circular of the Baptist Missionary Committee." By SAMUEL GREEN, Walworth.

To be had, price Sixpence, at Houlston and Stoneman's, 65, and G. and J. DYER's, 24, Paternoster row.

JUBILEE OF THE BAPTIST MISSION.

Just published, in Two Volumes, price Ten Shillings and Sixpence, by WARD and Co., and G. and J. DYER, Paternoster row.

HISTORY of the BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY, from 1792 to 1842. By the Rev. F. A. COX, D.D., LL.D. To which is added a Sketch of the General Baptist Mission.

* The Author intends to present the profits of the First Thousand copies as a Jubilee Offering to the Society.

JUBILEE OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

THE COMMITTEE have pleasure in announcing the following SERVICES and MEETINGS to be held in LONDON, in connexion with the Jubilee of the Society.

MONDAY, OCT. 10.—AFTERNOON, Three o'clock, attendance will be given at New Park Street Chapel, to receive the Amounts collected by Cards in London. Tea at Five o'clock. Tickets to Collectors gratis. Meeting for Prayer and Addresses at Seven. EVENING.—District Prayer Meetings.

TUESDAY, OCT. 11.—MORNING, Twelve o'clock, Lecture at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate street, by the Rev. J. P. SMITH, D.D., F.R.S., &c., &c. Tickets to be had at Fen Court, and of Messrs Houlston and Stoneman, 65, Paternoster row. EVENING, Half-past Six, Finsbury Chapel, Sermon by the Rev. J. ACWORTH, M.A., President of Bradford College.

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 12.—MORNING, Half-past Eight, London Tavern, Public Breakfast. Tickets, 1s. 6d. each, to be had at Fen Court, and of Messrs Houlston and Stoneman. AFTERNOON, Two o'clock, Finsbury Chapel, Meeting of Schools and Young Persons. W. B. GURNEY, Esq., in the Chair. EVENING, Half-past Six, Surrey Chapel, Sermon by the Rev. A. CARSON, LL.D., of Tubernmore, Ireland.

THURSDAY, OCT. 13.—MORNING, Ten o'clock, Exeter Hall, Public Meeting. EVENING, Half-past Six, Finsbury Chapel, Public Meeting.

JOSEPH ANGUS, Sec.

The following can be supplied in any quantity, on application at Fen Court:—

MEDALS.
 Tenpenny, price sixpence each. One has an emblematic device; the other has a Bust of Dr. Carey. Another is also published, with Portraits of Five of the Originators of the Society, price threepence.
 Smaller ones for Sunday School Children and young people, price one penny each.

HYMNS.
 A collection of Jubilee Hymns, to be sung at the Jubilee Services and Missionary Prayer Meetings, price sixpence each.

CARDS.
 Jubilee Cards for Contributions to the Jubilee Fund. To Collectors gratis.

ENGRAVINGS.
 Portraits of Carey, Thomas, Fuller, Ryland, and Pearce, on one steel plate, price sixpence each; or proofs on Indian paper, one shilling.

View, lithographed in the tinted style, size 20 inches by 13, of the House at Kettering, in which the Mission was formed in 1792, price eighteen-pence each.

View, corresponding with the above, of the Interior of the Booth at Kettering, as it appeared during the great Jubilee Meeting, on the 1st of June, also price eighteen-pence. From a sketch taken on the spot by the Rev. A. G. Fuller.

SERMONS.
 The Sermons delivered at Kettering by the Rev. B. GODWIN and the Rev. E. STREANE; to which is prefixed an Account of the Jubilee Services. Price two shillings.

JUVENILE JUBILEE PROCEEDINGS.
 Proceedings of the Baptist Juvenile Missionary Meeting, New Park street, London, July 26th, 1842; price ninepence per dozen.

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Extract from a Letter by the Rev. J. Harris, D.D., Author of "Mammon."

"The conception and arrangement of the work are admirable; and, as far as I have had the opportunity of judging, the execution of it equals the plan. I have read various parts of it attentively; and while I have not met with anything which I could wish to have been omitted, most unfeignedly can I say that I have found much calculated to inspire and sustain devotion."

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